

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society

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APRIL 8, 1925—OCTOBER 21, 1925



WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.
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1926

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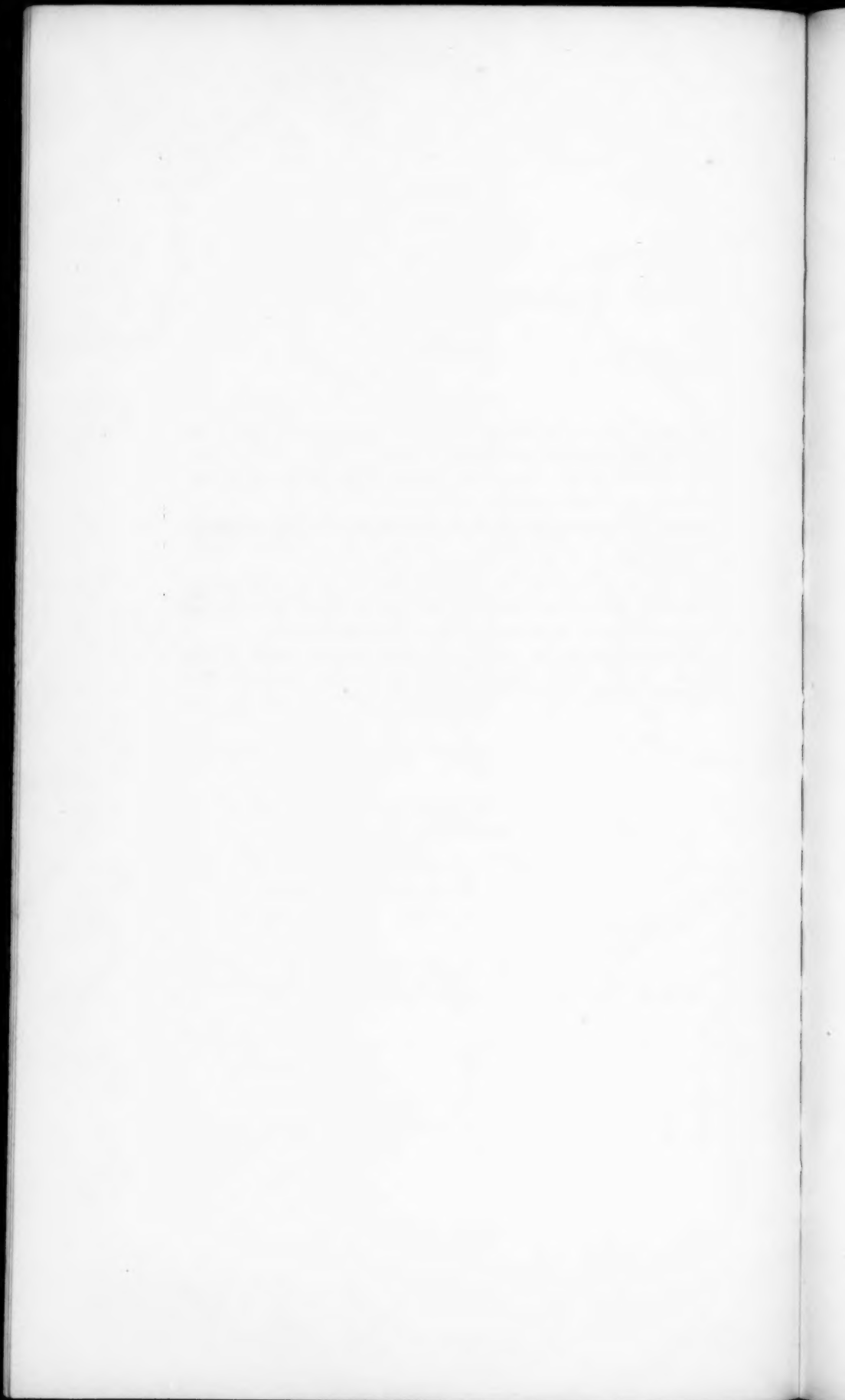
The thirty-fifth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings of April 8, and October 21, 1925.

The reports of the Council have been presented by Charles W. Washburn and Waldo Lincoln.

Papers have been received from Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Lawrence C. Wroth, Charles L. Nichols, Gardner W. Allen, Waldo G. Leland, John H. Edmonds, Thomas W. Balch, William C. Lane.

The volume contains the seventeenth installment of the Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, covering the States of Tennessee, Texas and Vermont, prepared by Clarence Saunders Brigham.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Harold Marsh Sewall, Henry Cabot Lodge, Charles Pelham Greenough, George Burton Adams, and Arthur Lord.



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XVII

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April, 1909.

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April, 1919.

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April, 1919.

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October, 1925

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April, 1893.

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October, 1901.

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October, 1923.

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October, 1890.

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April, 1907.

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April, 1922.

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October, 1922.

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April, 1925

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October, 1906.

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October, 1912.

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April, 1912.

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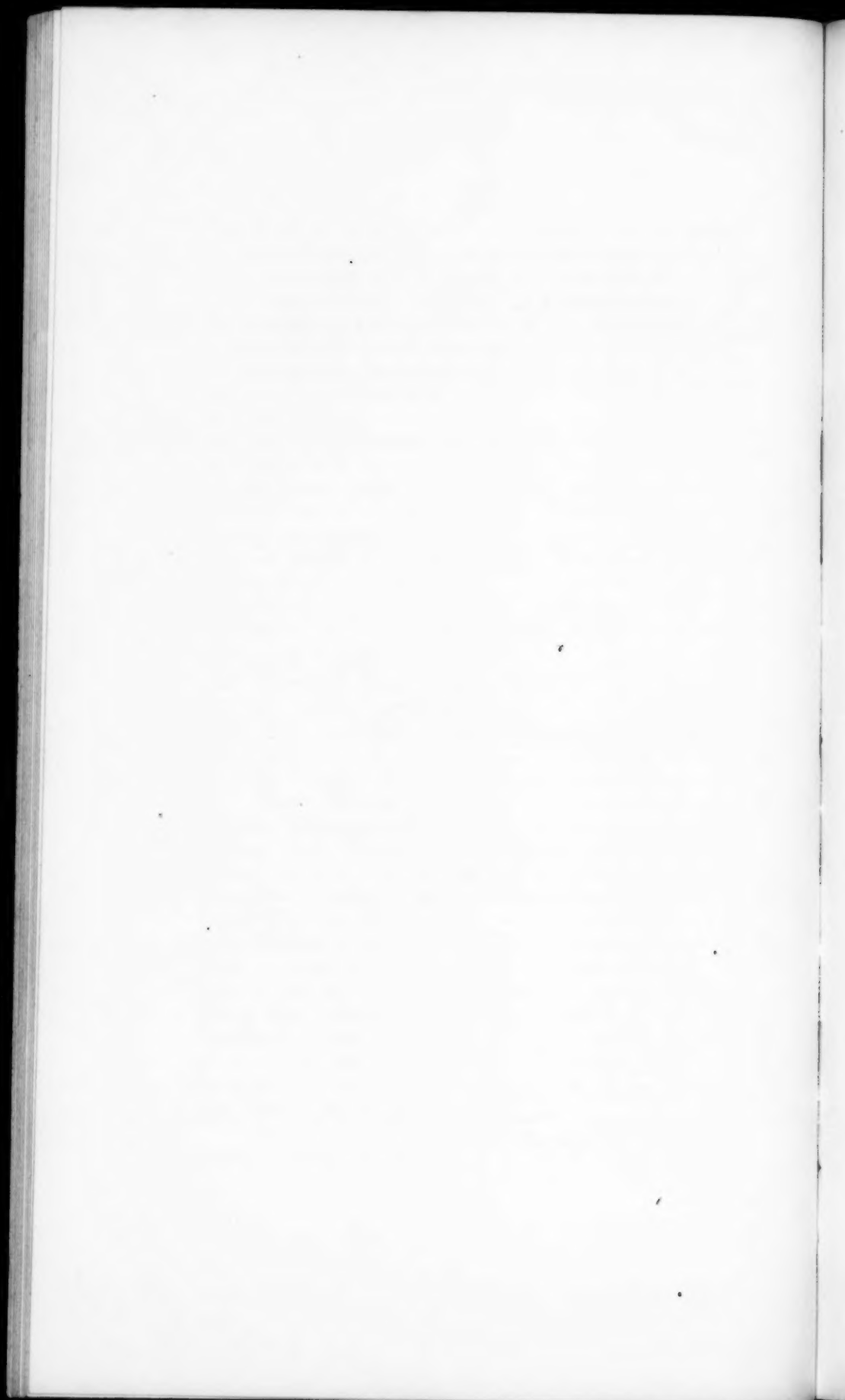
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VOL. 35

NEW SERIES

PART 1

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON

APRIL 8, 1925



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PROCEEDINGS

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, APRIL 8, 1925,
AT THE HOUSE OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS
AND SCIENCES, BOSTON

THE semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was held in Boston, in the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, on Wednesday, April 8, at 10.30 a. m.

The following members were present at the meeting:

Reuben Colton, John McKinstry Merriam, Francis Henshaw Dewey, William Trowbridge Forbes, George Henry Haynes, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward Sylvester Morse, Albert Matthews, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Worthington Chauncey Ford, William Coolidge Lane, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Charles Grenfill Washburn, Samuel Bayard Woodward, George Hubbard Blakeslee, William Vail Kellen, Wilfred Harold Munro, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Albert Bushnell Hart, Livingston Davis, Grenville Howland Norcross, Thomas Hovey Gage, John Whittemore Farwell, Lawrence Waters Jenkins, Alexander George McAdie, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, John Woodbury, Charles Knowles Bolton, John Henry Edmonds, Samuel Lyman Munson, Robert Kendall Shaw, Chandler Bullock, Charles Eliot Goodspeed, Francis Russell Hart, Henry Raup Wagner, Gardner Weld Allen, Francis Tiffany Bowles, Lawrence Counselman Wroth, Alexander James Wall, Wallace Walter Atwood, Clarence Macdonald Warner.

The meeting was called to order by President Lincoln and the notice of the meeting read by the

Secretary. It was voted that the reading of the records of the last meeting be dispensed with.

The report of the Council was then presented by Mr. Charles G. Washburn.

Mr. Brigham, in behalf of the Council, then presented therecommendations of the Council for membership in the Society and the President appointed Messrs. Haynes, Shaw and Edmunds a committee to distribute, collect and count ballots for new members and a ballot being taken the following were declared elected:

Resident Members

Frank Brewer Bemis, Beverly Farms, Mass.
 William Brooks Cabot, Boston, Mass.
 Louis Henry Dielman, Baltimore, Md.
 Joseph Grafton Minot, Boston, Mass.

Foreign Members

Mariana Cuevas, Mexico City, Mexico.
 Alfred William Pollard, London, England.

The Secretary presented, in behalf of the Council, the following minutes concerning Mr. Munson's gift, which was unanimously adopted:

The American Antiquarian Society has received from Mr. Samuel Lyman Munson of Albany, a member of the Council, the gift of about four thousand Almanacs constituting those issues from his own great collection which were not already owned by the Society. This gift, the most notable of the kind ever received by the Society, enables it to show almost unbroken files of all American Almanacs and of English Almanacs printed previous to the close of the American Revolution.

The Society wishes to record its grateful recognition of this gift and its appreciation of Mr. Munson's interest in its collections.

It is, therefore, voted to accept with gratitude Mr. Munson's gift, to convey to him the sincere thanks of the Society for it and to spread this minute upon its records.

The following papers were then presented:

"Samuel Dexter, Father and Son," by Clarence W. Bowen, of New York; "Some Early French Tracts on

Guiana," by Lawrence C. Wroth, of Providence, R. I.; "Samuel Salisbury, a Boston Merchant in the Revolution," by Charles L. Nichols of Worcester, Mass.; "Naval Songs and Ballads," by Gardner W. Allen of Boston, Mass.

At the conclusion of Mr. Bowen's paper there were inquiries by Mr. Brigham as to what became of Mr. Dexter's library and Mr. Norcross suggested that the Boston Exchange referred to was the Boston Exchange Coffee House. Mr. Bolton called the attention of the Society to the recently discovered portrait of Governor Richard Bellingham and Mr. Edmunds made some remarks upon a reproduction of the Map of New England.

It was voted that all the papers be referred to the Publication Committee.

An invitation was then presented to the Society by Mr. Cunningham to lunch with him at his house, 351 Marlborough Street and the meeting was then dissolved.

THOMAS HOVEY GAGE,
Recording Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

DURING the past six months the Society has lost three members through death: Harold Marsh Sewall, of Maine, elected in 1919, died Oct. 28, 1924; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Nahant, the senior member elected in 1881, died Nov. 9, 1924; and Charles Pelham Greenough, of Boston, elected in 1891, died Nov. 21, 1924.

Sewall was in the Class of 1882 at Harvard. He had a commencement part and I remember that after he had gotten well underway he stopped short and seemed unable to proceed. John D. Long, then Governor, sat on the stage near the speaker and in a sharp whisper, which could be heard all over Sanders Theatre, said "Go on." Under this impulse, Sewall proceeded and finished his address, without the slightest hesitation.

Mr. Lodge was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in December 1876 at the age of 26. He was editor of the *International Review* at the time of his election to this Society, and had been associated with Henry Adams in the editorship of the *North American Review*, and had been an instructor in American history for three years, ending with 1879, at Harvard University. He had also been a lecturer at the Lowell Institute.

He always gave his profession as that of "Literature." While he is more often thought of as a Statesman, he was also a very prolific writer. There have been few years between 1872 and 1924 in which Mr. Lodge has not published some book or article or made one or more notable addresses, and all this outside his work in Congress.

No student of American history could properly feel that he had exhausted his subject until he had carefully studied what Mr. Lodge has written upon the "English Colonies in America," his comments upon the "Federalist Party" and the "Essex Junto," and the "Hartford Convention" in his life of George Cabot; his lives of Washington, of Hamilton and of Webster; his articles and speeches upon the "Monroe Doctrine," the "treaty-making power of the Senate" and a great variety of kindred subjects, too numerous to mention.

His occasional memorial addresses were full of beauty and force, enriched by classical and historical allusions. Among them might be mentioned an address upon Abraham Lincoln in 1909 before a Joint Convention of the Massachusetts Legislature, and an address in 1910 upon the Unveiling of a Statue in Memory of John C. Calhoun, in the old hall of the House of Representatives in Washington; his address at Plymouth in 1920 upon the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims.

The new wing for additional book stacks which was finished last July has been partly filled, and during the winter more than seventy packing cases of books have been opened and the contents placed on the shelves. Many of these boxes had been in the building, unpacked, for two years or more, because of lack of space to place the books. The basement has been cleared, with the consequent lessening of the fire risk. The Society has acquired a large collection of duplicates, especially in newspaper files, which will be disposed of during the present year.

In January a new "Circular of Information" was published, giving a short historical account of the Society, a list of its various collections, a description of its publications, and an account of its funds and needs. We have had many requests for such a Circular, both from transient visitors who wished to know more about the Society, and from distant libraries and institutions

which were unfamiliar with the scope and extent of our collections. We were especially anxious to place in convenient form a statement of the Funds of the Society, thus emphasizing the disparity between our needs and our income, and making it clear that we are entirely dependent upon gifts and bequests for our support. The text of the Circular is reprinted as an appendix to this Report.

The Council has satisfaction in reporting a recent bequest, the second largest in our history. Mr. Henry F. DePuy, of Easton, Md., who died on Oct. 14, 1924, made this Society his residuary legatee, after the expiration of a life interest. Eventually this will amount to one-half of his estate, approximately \$150,000. Mr. DePuy had been for seven years a member and was particularly interested in our collection of early American imprints. He had done much bibliographical work, his "Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians," being one of the most valuable. Few men in the country were more familiar with early American printing, and especially the printing done in New York and Philadelphia before the Revolution. He was a trained and accurate investigator, an enthusiastic student and an ever ready advisor of those who sought his help. He had a great mass of material in manuscript relating to pre-Revolutionary titles, all of which is now in the custody of this Society. His will contained the provision that the residuary trust fund, upon the decease of his sister shall "vest in and be paid to the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, to be held by it absolutely. It is my wish, however, and I request, that said Society preserve the corpus of said fund and permit the income therefrom to be expended by its Librarian in the purchase of books and manuscripts relating to the History of America."

A gift of much value and importance has come to the Society during the winter from Samuel Lyman Munson, of Albany, a member of the Council. Mr.

Munson had made the largest collection of almanacs in America, and one which rivaled our own in value and importance. Not so strong perhaps in the 17th century issues, it surpassed our collection in the long series of almanacs issued by Benjamin Franklin, was especially strong in the almanacs of the South and West, and above all, possessed one of the finest known collections of English almanacs printed prior to the Revolution. With great generosity Mr. Munson offered to give to us every almanac in his collection which we lacked and further agreed to maintain with his gifts and advice the combined collection. The Society will thus obtain about 4000 almanacs, which makes our files of most all the long series of American almanacs nearly complete. This gift, one of the most valuable ever received by us, makes Mr. Munson one of the great contributors to our collections.

There is always temptation in a society of sufficient age to look back, at stated periods, to conditions as they were a century earlier, to ascertain how they compare with present conditions, what enterprises were interesting the people then and now. What problems were being discussed. I shall yield to this temptation only to the extent of a single incident. Then as now a Massachusetts citizen was President of the United States, John Quincy Adams, whose name appears on the roll of our membership, as does that of his brother and one of his grandsons. He took office on March 4, 1825, and in the following month of April, on the tenth day made the following entry in his diary: "Charles Cutts, the Secretary of the Senate, brought me the resolutions of the Senate advising and consenting to all the nominations I had sent with the exception of Amos Binney as Navy Agent at Boston which they postponed. Also the refusal of their advice and consent to the ratification of the Slave Trade Convention with the republic of Colombia." In the matter of confirming Presidential nominations and consenting to the ratification of treaties, the

Senate, then as now, seemed disposed to exercise its prerogatives.

Another temptation I shall yield to is to turn over the pages of our records and make therefrom some unrelated extracts which seem to me to be of interest.

As our semi-annual meetings are regularly held in the City of Boston, it may not be amiss to remind you that until 1832 the *annual* meetings were held here, usually at the Exchange Coffee House. At one of the early meetings it was Voted: "that as the capital of the Commonwealth generally offers the best means of ascertaining the real character and standing of such persons as may be proposed for membership in this Society and as the society are desirous that the utmost circumspection should be used in the admission of members, &c.—that action on the nomination for membership should only take place at a meeting in the town of Boston." The vote was later repealed and the restraining influence removed.

A committee appointed in September 1813 to give some account of institutions of a nature kindred to this reported through the President, Isaiah Thomas, as follows:

"From combinations of this kind, the old continents, within the last century and a half, have received and diffused more light and useful information in the arts and sciences, and in the natural, civil and religious history of the habitable globe, than had been exhibited to mankind for thousands of preceding years.

"The first society of scientific men among the moderns of which history gives us any certain information, was established near the close of the eighth century, by Charlemagne, at his imperial palace in France, by the recommendation of Alcuinus, one of the most learned men of the age. This society in time was productive of many others; few, however, appeared, which were of great advantage to the publick, or gained a permanent establishment, till the middle of the seventeenth century. Many literary and scientific

institutions were then formed, and afterwards greatly increased and spread through the several quarters of the globe. We will take notice of that class only of those societies, which had the same object in view, as the one of which we are members.

“Irish historians have asserted, that ‘there was an ancient college of antiquaries erected in Ireland by Ollamh Fodhla, one of its kings, several hundred years before Christ, for the purpose of composing a history of that country’; and to this, say they, ‘it is owing, that the history and antiquities of this kingdom may be traced back beyond that of most other nations.’ But the first society of Antiquaries, of which we have any authentic information, is that which originated in England in 1572, under the auspices of Archbishop Parker, Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, and others. Although it was not incorporated, its reputation gradually increased until the reign of James I, who, in turbulent times, ‘fearing it might canvass the secret transactions of his government,’ suppressed it. It was revived in the year 1717. From this time the importance of the society increased, and in 1751, it was incorporated by the name of ‘The President, Council and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries’ in England. ‘It is now in a very flourishing condition, consisting of many learned and ingenious men of the nobility, gentry and clergy, whose business, as members, is to discover the antiquities of their own, as well as of other nations’. . . . They have weekly meetings. This society began to publish its discoveries in 1770, under the title of *Archæologia*.”

An institution similar to that of the Antiquarian Society in England, and for like purposes, was founded in Scotland in 1780, and received the royal charter in 1803.

There is a society of Antiquaries at Upsal in Sweden, which owes its rise to queen Christina, *but its establishment* to her successor, Charles Gustavus; its design is to collect and illustrate the antiquities of that country,

and the northern languages. Another was instituted at Copenhagen, in Denmark, in 1742; its immediate object is to make researches into, and explain the antiquities and history of that country. It is patronized by the king. An Academy of Antiquities exists at Cortona, in Italy, the members of which are very respectable, numerous, and not confined to that country. It was founded for the study, &c. of the Etrurian Antiquities; the chief officer is called Lucumon, by which name the ancient governors of Italy are said to have been distinguished.

There are in Europe many other similar institutions; all of which, having proper funds, have been very useful. Many more for want of funds were of short duration.

An institution of this kind was formed at Calcutta in the East Indies, called the Asiatic Society, by Sir William Jones, in 1784; the objects of which are the antiquities, history, arts, and literature of the continent of Asia.

On June 1, 1814, this Society "voted that a committee be appointed to devise ways and means for raising funds to erect a suitable edifice to contain the library and museum, and that the President and Professor Park be requested to prepare a nomination list of five members as suitable persons to serve on said committee and submit the same to the Society at their next meeting." In the "Journal of the Sub-Council of the American Antiquarian Society in the vicinity of Worcester, Mass., beginning with their first meeting, February 15, 1815," under June 6, 1815, is the following: "Voted that Judge Bangs be a committee to draw up a subscription paper for lottery tickets to be presented to the members to sign in order to raise a fund for building an edifice for the library and cabinet, and for other purposes." Judge Bangs reported to the Sub-Council, June 26, 1815, "that on consulting the laws of the Commonwealth, he was of the opinion that a lottery of the kind proposed would be illegal

unless a grant for the purpose could be obtained from the Legislature." On January 2, 1816, "the Sub-Council took under consideration a draft of a petition to the Legislature of Massachusetts, praying for aid in erecting a building, etc. The petition as amended met their approbation, and the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means was requested to copy it, get it signed by the committee, and have it presented." February 5, 1816, "the petition to the Legislature, presented by the Society's Committee on Ways and Means, for building, etc., to grant a lottery for that purpose, was taken into consideration. The petition being now pending in the House of Representatives, it was voted that it is highly necessary the petition should be supported in this crisis of its passage; that the Hon. Levi Lincoln be a committee for that purpose, and that the President be requested also to attend on the Legislature respecting this business." March 4, 1816, "the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means reported the progress of the petition for a lottery, in the Legislature." May 8, 1816, "the petition to the Legislature taken under consideration. Hon. Mr. Lincoln, Jr., and the President, and the Hon. Francis Blake, were requested to continue their aid to the committee respecting this business."

No further action appears in the records.

It is not recommended that the Committee charged with the duty of securing an increase in the endowment of the Society pursue this method, so much in vogue a century ago.

In a communication from the President, Isaiah Thomas, on October 24, 1814, he said: "If each member would, at his leisure, collect and send at least annually, something worth preserving to the Library or Museum, although the value of the gift be small, the stock of books and of articles in our cabinet would, in a few years, appear highly worthy of the inspection of the most profound antiquary of this or any other country.

I am requested, also, to suggest for your consideration, the expedience of admitting as members of the Society some gentlemen who reside in various parts of Europe, the East Indies and China; and, should it not be one of our first endeavors to extend membership to gentlemen of distinguished characters in Spanish and Portuguese America, particularly in the dominions of the former, where, it is believed, many valuable antiquities of this continent may be procured." This suggestion in part has been the policy of the Society.

Mr. Haven in his report of October 1859, tells with what care Mr. Thomas preserved the fugitive records of the past.

". . . . Dr. Thomas, with his wonted forethought and habit of preservation, was accustomed to lay aside little bundles of exchange papers that escaped the scissors or were rescued from the waste-box of his printing-office—wanting in sequence and miscellaneous in name and nature though they might be—mingled with extras and broadsides and handbills, and other ephemeral shapes in which the news of business of the day embodied themselves. To these have been added, from time to time, similar parcels of incomplete and unassociated materials, till a large room was nearly filled with such deposits. . . . By slow degrees, the various and complicated materials were reduced to order according to their affinities; many valuable volumes were made complete; and sometimes duplicate triplicate, and even quadruplicate files were produced. The remnants of the regular series were assorted, as far as they would admit of combination; and, finally, the miscellaneous specimens were distributed under the heads of the different States or countries from which they emanated."

The zeal of our members at one period seems to have abated, for on October 23, 1817, the Treasurer stated that very few pay the annual assessment and suggests striking from the roll those who have never attended a

meeting or paid an assessment, and on February 1, 1819, an address was made expressing "confidence that those members, if any, who may have become languid will be reanimated in its service."

The jealous care with which our collections were guarded in the earlier days appears in a vote of the Sub-Council, so-called, a body composed of those officers living in Worcester, recorded at a meeting held July 17, 1823, namely: That the library of the Society be opened to none but literary characters, that the key be kept at the house of the President and that he be authorized to call on the members of the Council and the Secretaries in town, to wait on gentlemen, who may wish to visit the library whenever he may think it proper.

Our sometime Librarian, Mr. Baldwin was a natural antiquary and genealogist. Wherever he might happen to be he visited the burial places, copying names and epitaphs, examined the town records and interviewed aged men. Among the entries in his diary on all sorts of subjects is one of considerable local interest, dated April 29, 1829: "The canal boat 'Washington,' the first built in Worcester, is carried through the streets on wheels from near the Gaol to the basin near the distillery, where it is to be launched. There are banks of snow yet in the Main St. and the going very bad."

In 1854, in the report of the Librarian, Mr. Haven, reference is made to works which treat of the origin of population in this country, and while it was admitted that "such theories had fallen into some disrepute, in consequence of the absurdities those who adopted them were often led into by attempting to prove too much," it is added that "the probability that the lost tribes of Israel found refuge in America has been more elaborately argued by the learned of former times and more generally credited in this country, than any other hypothesis of the origin of its inhabitants," an hypothesis, I may add, which seems to find some confirmation in these latter days.

Judge Ira M. Barton, in the Council Report of April 25, 1855, says, "To render progress palpable, we must take stand on points more remote from each other. Count, for example, from the first eight years of the existence of this Society, when its meetings, its library and its Cabinet, all had accommodations in the private rooms of the mansion of its hospitable founder on Court Hill in Worcester, to the present period, that finds us with an ample hall on the same beautiful eminence, containing a library of more than twenty thousand volumes, with a capacity to receive other twenty thousand; and the progress of this Institution becomes not only palpable, but extraordinary."

At this point, somewhat remote from 1855, we may compare the present possessions of the Society—152,226 volumes, 234,832 pamphlets, 100,000 manuscripts and many thousands of maps, broadsides and engravings—and exclaim with Judge Barton "the progress of this Institution becomes not only palpable but extraordinary."

Dr. Samuel A. Green called attention in the Council Report of October, 1875, to the influence of the telegraph on human affairs. "If the ocean telegraph had been in operation at that time," he said, "the battle of New Orleans, in 1815, would not have been fought. It occurred a fortnight after the treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent, though the tidings of this treaty were not received until a month after the battle. The chances are that Andrew Jackson would not have been president of the United States if he had not gained the battle, nor would Martin Van Buren have succeeded to the same high position if he had not been associated with him. This will serve as an illustration of the influence the telegraph may have on human affairs." This now seems like a voice from prehistoric man.

At the October 1892 meeting, the Reverend Edward Everett Hale having read a paper on "The Results of Columbus' Discovery," Mr. Charles Francis Adams said: "I am prepared to maintain, after listening to

Mr. Hale's paper, that the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, he then sailing in the employ of Spain, was a misfortune to mankind, and a misfortune of a very lasting as well as serious nature."

I close my meanderings through these records of many years with a quotation from Mr. Haven's report of 1858. It was repeated in the Librarian's report of 1893 when but nine of the members who survived were elected before the former date, and I think that I may safely repeat it here, as but ten of our present membership were members in 1893:

"The American Antiquarian Society is quiet and undemonstrative in its nature and self-supporting in its system. It is neither stimulated by a surrounding atmosphere of redundant learning and ambitious scholarship, nor fertilized by the flow of annual subscriptions into its treasury from a numerous body of associates. It has not the advantage of a large and wealthy connection, made active and enterprising by the habits of business and liberal expenditure incident to a populous commercial city. Its operations are controlled and bounded by stated and limited resources. It is not unlike a country gentleman living upon his estate and within the income it produces. It owns the house it occupies and the soil on which it stands. It can afford something to secure the requisite care and productive management of its various possessions, make moderate provision for any required increase of accommodations, and within its precincts, can exercise a hearty though unostentatious hospitality. It can occasionally purchase a few books such as may be needed for immediate use, or when prompted by the occurrence of rare opportunities. It can progressively assort and put into binding the pamphlets and periodical publications that accumulate from the gifts of its friends, and find or make a place for accessions of whatever kind, that may be intrusted to its keeping. It can to a certain extent employ an annual sum in researches for the promotion of archaeological and his-

torical information and, in a limited way, it can publish and distribute memoirs and papers which it is deemed desirable thus to perpetuate. Within restrictions as to numbers prescribed by its constitution, it can invite gentlemen with whom it desires to be connected, to occupy the vacant places in its list of members and to share whatever interests, responsibilities or honors may belong to that position. The Society can claim that it is free from debt; that it is in the condition and has the will for wider and more active exertions in proportion as its means may be enlarged and as junctures may occur; that its policy is liberal if conservative, whose aim is not merely to increase its store but to extend and diffuse the common and general utility of its collections. It will be seen that these circumstances furnish the elements of durability and of substantial usefulness, but not the groundwork of display. They foreshadow a healthy growth that may not only be permanent but become conspicuous, while sudden or extraordinary claims to public attention are in keeping with neither its character nor its principles of action."

If our present accomplishments and ambitions should seem to have outrun the modest limits prescribed by Mr. Haven, it should be remembered that his views were expressed nearly seventy years ago.

CHARLES G. WASHBURN,
For the Council.





Fig. 1. - [illegible]
Fig. 2. - [illegible]

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.

Established 1812

CIRCULAR OF INFORMATION

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY was established as a national Society in October 1812, at Worcester, Mass., for collecting and preserving materials for the study of American history and antiquities. The Library was located at Worcester primarily because it was away from the seacoast and hence not subject to naval attack. Its founder was Isaiah Thomas, a leading New England publisher and philanthropist, who gave to the Society his private library, then one of the best in the country.

The present library building was constructed in 1910 at a cost of \$172,000, with \$15,000 for the land. A wing for additional book stacks costing \$100,000 was finished in July 1924. The main feature of the building is a large rotunda reading-room, surrounded by four work-rooms and six alcove-rooms for special collections. On the second floor are the map and print room, almanac room, manuscript room and exhibition hall. In the rear are the stacks, each five floors high. The linear shelf measure of the entire library is nearly eleven miles.

The library of the American Antiquarian Society is one of the great reference libraries of the country for students of American history. It contained in 1924, 152,226 volumes, 234,832 pamphlets, 100,000 manuscripts and many thousands of maps, broadsides and engravings. Its chief specialties, in many of which it ranks first, are as follows:

- American Newspapers, 12,350 volumes
- American Imprints previous to 1920, 40,000 titles
- Spanish Americana and West Indies, 11,000 titles
- American Periodicals, 16,350 volumes
- American Local History, 11,000 volumes
- American Genealogies, 4,500 volumes
- American School Books, 12,500 volumes
- Civil War and Slavery, 3,900 titles
- U. S. Government Publications, 19,000 volumes
- American Almanacs, 10,500 issues
- American Directories, 5,200 volumes
- American Maps, 16,000
- American Bookplates, 25,000
- Library of the Mathers, 950 volumes
- American College Reports, 27,000 issues
- American Printing and Journalism, 4,000 titles

The Publications of the Society comprise two series—the Transactions and the Proceedings. The Transactions, at first also known as the "Archaeologia Americana," consist of volumes 1 to 12, published from 1820 to 1911, and with the exception of volume 2, which is out of print, are sold by the Society at \$4.00 each.

The Proceedings from 1812 to 1849, which were issued occasionally and are mostly out of print, were reprinted in one volume, in 1912, and are for sale at \$4.00. From 1849 to 1880, the Proceedings were issued semi-annually and are for sale unless out of print at \$1.00 each. In 1880, a "new series" of Proceedings was begun, with volume numbering, which are for sale at \$1.50 per issue, or \$4.00 per bound volume.

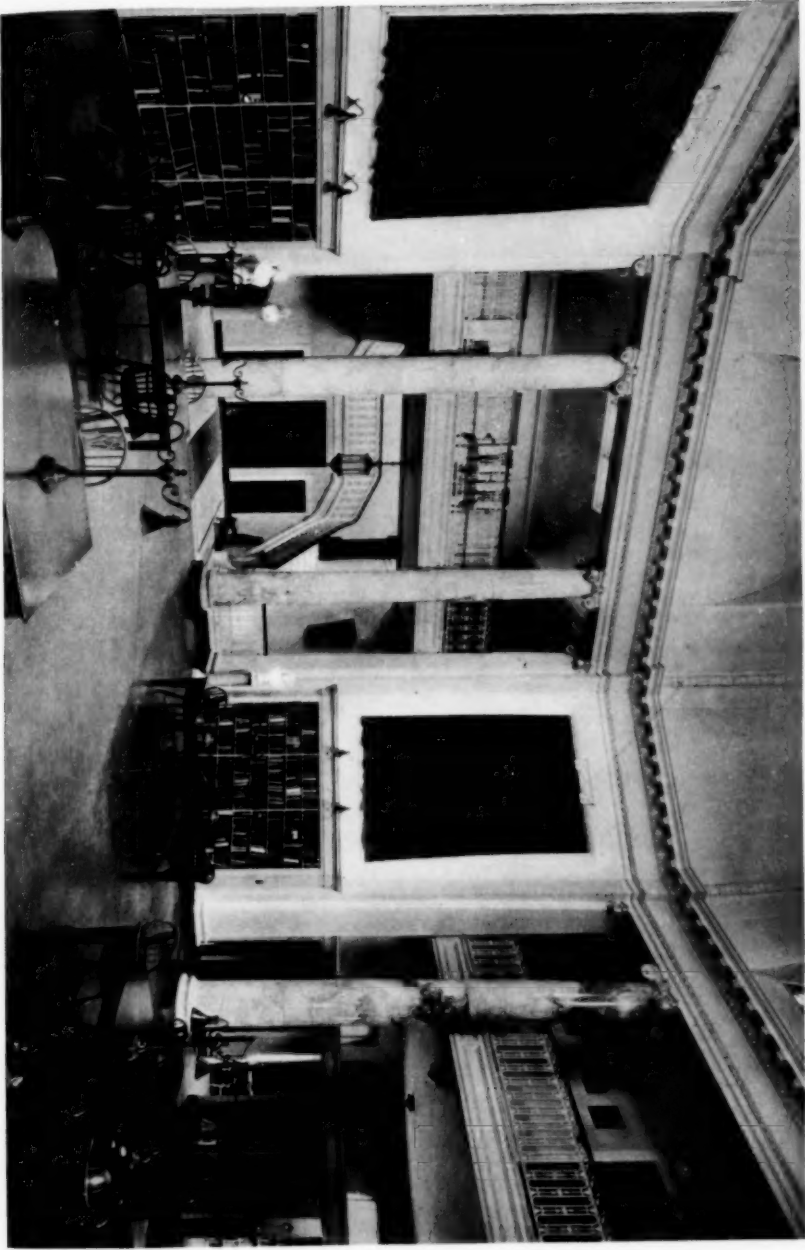
Membership in the Society is purely honorary, with two hundred members resident in the United States, and at present thirty-three foreign members. Members are chosen by the Council of the Society for prominence in collecting or historical research.

The Funds of the Society amount to \$352,000, yielding an income of about \$21,000. Since the Society has never received any financial aid from Government, State or City, and has a membership which is entirely honorary, it must derive its support from gifts and bequests.

Although the library has always been absolutely free to the public for reference, the financial support has come almost entirely from members. The collections, which at a conservative valuation are worth two million dollars, have been practically all acquired without public assistance.

The present income of the Society barely suffices for its necessary administrative expenses. It needs money for the purchase of books and early newspapers needed to fill in its files; for additions to its varied collections such as maps and engravings; for the purchase of local history and genealogies; for binding; for cataloguing and indexing; for printing its valuable manuscripts and exploiting its priceless possessions.

An additional endowment fund of \$500,000 is necessary for the Society to perform properly its duty to American scholars, and to the raising and giving of such a fund, the attention of patrons of history and literature throughout the entire country is called.



OBITUARIES

HAROLD MARSH SEWALL

Harold Marsh Sewall, a native of Bath, Me., was born January 3, 1860 and died October 28, 1924 in a hospital in New York City, after a minor operation. He was son of Arthur and Emma D. (Crocker) Sewall, his father being the head of the largest and best known ship-building firm in New England, the most prominent democrat in Maine and vice-presidential candidate on the democratic ticket with William Jennings Bryan in 1896.

Harold Sewall was graduated from Harvard University in 1882 with the degree of A. B. and received the degree of LL.B. from the Harvard Law School in 1885, in which year he was appointed by President Cleveland vice-consul at Liverpool. Two years later he became consul-general at Samoa, but becoming violently opposed to the foreign policies of the Cleveland administration resigned his post in 1889. He left the Democratic party, in whose principles he had been bred as a boy, became an active Republican and took the stump for Benjamin Harrison, by whom he was again sent to Samoa as consul-general. In 1892 he resigned his office, returned to Maine, was admitted to the bar and began the practice of his profession, but devoted himself largely to politics. In 1897 he was Minister Plenipotentiary to Hawaii and, after the transfer of the islands to the United States continued there as special agent of the United States until the organization of the Territory of Hawaii. He was for several years a member of the Maine legislature and at his death had become the recognized leader of the Republican party in Maine. He was much interested in

historical subjects both national and local, was an authority on old ship models and prints, and possessed an excellent private library. He was elected to this Society in April, 1919 in which year Bowdoin College gave him an honorary degree of A.M. He married Camilla Loyall Ashe, who, with two sons and two daughters, survives him.

W. L.

HENRY CABOT LODGE

Henry Cabot Lodge died in Cambridge, Mass., November 9, 1924. He was born in Boston, May 12, 1850, the son of John Ellerton and Anna (Cabot) Lodge, grandson of Giles and Abigail (Langdon) Lodge, and great grandson of John Lodge, of London, whose wife was Elizabeth Ellerton.

He entered Harvard from a private school, after a year abroad, and obtained his degree of A. B. in 1871, and of LL.B. from Harvard Law School in 1874. In 1876 he was given the degree of Ph.D. from Harvard, after specializing in history, for his thesis, "Land Law of Anglo-Saxons." He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Harvard, 1904, Williams, 1893, Yale and Clark, 1902, Amherst, 1912, and Union, Princeton, Dartmouth and Brown, 1918.

He was university lecturer at Harvard on American history from 1876 to 1879; from 1874 to 1896 he was assistant editor of the "North American Review" and the "International Review" from 1879 to 1881. During these years he published the "Short History of the English Colonies in America" and the "Life and Letters of George Cabot." For thirty-eight years he was a member of the law making body of this country, thirty-one of these years in the Senate.

The library of the United States Senate contains some thirty volumes of his published works. They include addresses and speeches made in the Senate and elsewhere, essays, biographies and histories. In 1882

he published a "Life of Alexander Hamilton," in 1883 a "Life of Daniel Webster," in 1889 the "Life of George Washington," all of the "American Statesman Series." In 1885 he edited the "Works of Alexander Hamilton," in 9 volumes; in 1891 he published the "History of Boston" in the series of "Historic Towns"; in 1892 Historical and Political Essays; in 1895, with Theodore Roosevelt, "Hero Tales from American History"; in 1898 Story of the American Revolution; in 1899 Story of the Spanish War.

He was a devoted, useful and honest historian and ranked among the foremost authorities on American history that Massachusetts has produced.

Mr. Lodge had been an overseer of Harvard since 1884, was regent of the Smithsonian Institution and had been president of the Massachusetts Historical Society since 1915 and was a member of many historical and scientific organizations. He was elected to the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1881. At the centennial anniversary of this Society, October, 1912, circumstances prevented his delivering the expected address upon "International Arbitration"; he read, however, reminiscences of experiences abroad.

He was married June 29, 1871, to Anna Cabot Mills, a daughter of Rear Admiral Charles H. Davis, U. S. N., and had three children: George Cabot Lodge, Constance D. Lodge, wife of Augustus Peabody Gardner, and John Ellerton Lodge.

M. R. R.

CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH

Charles Pelham Greenough was born July 29, 1844 at Cambridge, the son of William W. and Catherine Scolley (Curtis) Greenough, and died November 21, 1924 at Brookline, where he had made his home for many years. He received the degree of A. B. at Harvard in 1864 and in the following August became Captain's clerk on the U. S. S. *Vanderbilt*, one of the

blockading squadron, but was obliged to resign in the following December on account of ailing health. In 1867, after extended foreign travel, he entered the Harvard Law School where he received the degree of LL.B. in 1869, and was admitted to the Suffolk Bar January 1, 1870. He associated himself in practice with Robert M. Morse with whom, and with the firm of Morse, Stone and Greenough, he continued until 1879 when, after another period of foreign travel, he opened a law office by himself and attained a high rank in his profession. He edited the ninth edition of Story "On Agency" and, as counsel of the Boston Gas Light Company, published a Digest of Reported Decisions in the United States on the Liabilities of Gas Companies and a number of pamphlets on Water Gas.

He was for several years Treasurer and, later, President of the Boston Bar Association and was active in founding the Boston Legal Aid Society. His interest in historical subjects took form in the collection and preservation of rare autographs and documents in which, beginning as he did before the extraordinary rise in values for historical materials placed them beyond the reach of any but the very wealthy, he succeeded in amassing a collection surpassed by few in New England for number and importance. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, the Bunker Hill Monument Association, trustee of the Boston Athenaeum and was elected to this Society in April, 1891. His wife and four children survive him.

W. L.

SAMUEL DEXTER, COUNCILOR, AND HIS
SON, HON. SAMUEL DEXTER, SECRETARY
OF WAR, AND SECRETARY OF THE
TREASURY

BY CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN

THE most striking character in Woodstock, Connecticut, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War was Samuel Dexter, born in Dedham in 1726. His father, Rev. Samuel Dexter (Harvard 1720), prepared him for Harvard College. The son preferred business, became a successful merchant in Boston, retired at thirty-six, and built a home in Dedham, which is still standing, where he entertained Governor Thomas Hutchinson, Lt. Governor Andrew Oliver and members of the Council.

He was Moderator at Town Meetings, Deputy to the General Court, a member of the first Provincial Congress and of the Supreme Executive Council. His election to the Council and the election of James Bowdoin and Prof. John Winthrop were several times vetoed or "negatived" by the Governor. When Artemus Ward was appointed General and Commander-in-Chief, Samuel Dexter administered the oath. When George Washington was about to start from Philadelphia for Cambridge, John Adams wrote Washington: "Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. Sever and Mr. Dexter, lately of the Council, will be found to be very worthy men." Samuel Dexter was Commissioner for settling the Land Bank business, was Chairman of a Committee of thirteen to report regarding the defense of the province (Hancock, Gerry, Heath and James Warren being other members of the Committee) and was also on the Committee to draw up a Resolve to be

a part of the address to General Washington. But Dexter was opposed to the concentration of poorly equipped troops against British regulars, and was consequently suspected of being at heart a Royalist. "A haughty integrity cannot endure suspicion," wrote his son. Dexter, therefore, retired in the spring of 1775 with his family, to Woodstock, Connecticut and bought the Rev. Abiel Leonard house on Woodstock Hill, which subsequently became the home of Rev. Eliphalet Lyman.

Dexter's letters to Deacon Caleb Davis, the Boston merchant, who was born in Woodstock, are owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Dexter's letters to Lyman, I found in the Lyman house in Woodstock in 1873, and gave them a few years ago to Worthington C. Ford to be added to the collection of Dexter letters in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Dexter wrote Davis from Woodstock: "I have got Madeira and Lisbon wines here, but want some cheap Malaga to give to country people." He wanted table fish from Marblehead, six pounds of shells and eighteen "of your best chocolate" and tried to rent to Davis his Dedham house. In January 1776, Dexter wrote declining the appointment of First Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of the County of Suffolk. He also declined the election offered him by Woodstock to the General Assembly of Connecticut and added: "I think I would prefer a private life in Woodstock to any public employment whatsoever." He spoke in other letters of his Woodstock neighbors: Charles Church Chandler, elected later to Congress, Captains Benjamin and William Lyon, Captain Matthew Bowen and General Samuel McClellan, the last named the great-grandfather of Gen. George B. McClellan of the Civil War, and said: "I do not soon forget old neighborhood and friendship."

Dexter's grandnephew, Samuel F. Haven, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, said of him: "His name stands by the side of Otis, Bowdoin, the

two Adamases, Hawley, Hancock and Quincy." President Quincy of Harvard, regarded Dexter as one of the most remarkable men of his age, and Worthington C. Ford wrote: "He is one of the characters who have been neglected and to his cost, for I find there have been doubts cast upon his patriotism and he is even mentioned among the Royalists, something which he did not deserve." After the death of his wife, seven years older than himself, he sold his homes in Woodstock and Dedham, and from 1786 to 1800 lived in Weston, where President Willard of Harvard and his son, Prof. Sidney Willard, visited him.

In Weston, Dexter wrote the pamphlet on "Jacob and Esau," published in 1791 by Isaiah Thomas, a copy of which is owned by the American Antiquarian Society. The last ten years of Dexter's life were spent in Mendon where he died June 19, 1810, in his 85th year. He was buried in Woodstock in the center of a piece of land of three and a half acres fronting on Woodstock Street, which as a boy I often crossed. "The Dexter Lot," as everybody called it, adjoined my father's home. Dexter's will, deposited in Worcester, written by himself in a thirty-seven page volume, bound in leather, contains the words:

"Nor let any stone tell where I lie."

Abiel Holmes, born in Woodstock, who remembered Dexter's wife, Hannah Sigourney, as a lady of dark complexion, with French features and pronunciation, said: "Samuel Dexter had a large library which attracted much attention at the time of its removal. I have seen the lot in which he was buried not far from the first church in my native town, but no sign of his grave can be traced." Dexter left \$5000 to Harvard College, \$350 to the City of Boston, \$170 to the Schools of Dedham, and to the Church in Woodstock, "the Dexter Lot" and \$40 in money.

Of Dexter's five children, four grew up. One daughter was married in Woodstock to Rev. John Bradford, Jr. (Harvard 1774). Another daughter

married a son of Gen. Artemus Ward, Chief Justice Artemus Ward (Harvard 1783), who received an LL. D. degree from Harvard, was a member of Congress and law partner of Dexter's youngest son, Samuel Dexter, Jr. Dexter's oldest son, Andrew, joined the church in Woodstock in 1777 and was the father of Andrew Dexter, Jr., (Brown University, 1798) who was prominent in erecting in 1808 in Boston the Boston Exchange Coffee House, seven stories high, destroyed by fire in 1818. Andrew Dexter, Jr. was the founder of Montgomery, Alabama. Gilbert Stuart painted portraits of him and of his wife, a daughter of Attorney General Perez Morton of Boston and of Sarah Wentworth Apthorpe, a relative of Gov. Sir John Wentworth.

The youngest child of Samuel Dexter of Woodstock, Samuel Dexter, Jr., was born May 14, 1761, came to Woodstock when he was fourteen and was prepared for Harvard by a Harvard graduate, Rev. Aaron Putnam, of Pomfret. A fellow student was Elijah Paine (Harvard 1781), who afterwards became United States Senator from Vermont. Another fellow student of Samuel Dexter, Jr. in Pomfret was the Revolutionary War Patriot, Col. William Prescott's son, Judge William Prescott (Harvard 1783), whose daughter married Franklin Dexter, son of Samuel Dexter, Jr.,

Samuel Dexter, Jr. (Harvard 1781) studied law in Worcester under Levi Lincoln the Elder, was a member of the General Court, Member of Congress, United States Senator, Secretary of War under John Adams, followed Oliver Wolcott as Secretary of the Treasury, which office he held under Jefferson for almost a year, or until he was succeeded by Albert Gallatin. Dexter also acted as Secretary of State so that he could administer the oath to John Marshall as Chief Justice of the United States. On retiring from office Dexter became famous as an advocate before the Supreme Court of the United States. His enunciation was slow, his eloquence thrilling. When Dexter and

William Pinckey spoke before the Supreme Court all the belles in Washington attended, and were "entranced for hours," as Chief Justice Marshall wrote his wife. Samuel Dexter, Jr. wrote the reply of the Senate to President Adams' address on the death of Washington. He received the LL.D. degree from Harvard in 1813, and declined in 1815 the mission to Spain tendered him by President Madison, having previously declined another mission offered him by President Adams.

Dexter was a candidate for Governor of Massachusetts in 1814, against Caleb Strong, and the following year was again a candidate, receiving 47,000 votes to Caleb Strong's 49,000. Dexter was President of the first Temperance Society in Massachusetts. He wrote pamphlets but no books. He did not write out his speeches. His Eulogy on Fisher Ames, however, has been preserved. Daniel Webster spoke of Dexter on equal terms with James Madison, Fisher Ames, Christopher Gore, Rufus King, Chancellor Kent and Chief Justice Marshall. After the death, May 4th, 1816, of Samuel Dexter, Jr., John Adams said: "I have lost the ablest friend I had on earth in Mr. Dexter."

SOME EARLY FRENCH GUIANA TRACTS
AN ADDITION TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EL DORADO

BY LAWRENCE C. WROTH

I

A YEAR ago a bookseller sent on approval to the John Carter Brown Library a tract entitled *Projet d'une compagnie pour l'Amerique*. The little book was offered in all good faith as a piece that related to a hitherto unknown French scheme for the settlement of Florida. This relationship was affirmed furthermore in an accompanying bibliographical note written over the signature of a bookman learned in the matter of American origins. The Library purchased the book, finally, on its own estimation of it as one of a group of writings published in connection with a mid-seventeenth century scheme for the colonization of Guiana. The effort to bring the owner of the tract to the acceptance of this view resulted in the recognition and the listing in series of a group of Guiana tracts that formerly had not appeared in the bibliographies. It is the character of this by-product that seems to justify setting forth here what otherwise would have been a routine investigation.

The title and description of the pamphlet are as follows:

(1) *Projet d'une compagnie pour l'Amerique*.
n. p. n. d. (c. 1651)

Sm. 4to. A⁴, pages 1-8, comprising text, with heading as above and with head piece of type flowers and ornamental initial letter. Place and date of publication not given, but see note to no. 2, in the ensuing series of titles. The following

paragraph occurs at end: "Ceux qui voudront estre plus amplement instruits de ce dessein, s'adresseront chez Monsieur Blanche Notaire au Chastelet de Paris dans la ruë des Assises au coin de la ruë S. Jacques de la Boucherie, & ils scauront en ce lieu les personnes à qui il faudra parler." (J. C. B.)

Here follows a synopsis of the note that came with the book:

Location. Refers to the mainland by implication, because the islands inhabited by the French are mentioned in contradistinction to the situation of the proposed colony. The coast must be the east coast of Florida because of the fine climate, perpetual spring, flowers and foliage; because the animals and plants mentioned belong to Florida; and because the description of the route across as consuming only a month or five weeks, no rocks, no capes, wind aft, etc., indicates a landfall on the east coast of Florida as the end of the journey.

Date. After 1632 because the ornamental initial "P," in this pamphlet showing signs of wear, is used in Claude Collet's "Les Voyages de Champlain," Paris, 1632. Probably about the year 1642, for reasons derived from a consideration of the European political situation at that time.

When the book first came to the Library for examination, I was inclined to accept as strongly probable its Florida association. A friend who looked through it, however, suggested that its descriptions of climate and of fauna and flora might refer to Central America or to the north coast of South America as fittingly as to Florida, and as this comment was uttered there was born an uneasiness that led me after many days to consult the Oracle that sits at Fifth Avenue and Forty Second Street. Mr. Eames replied that he had never seen or heard of the tract, but that it reminded him somehow of a pamphlet in the British Museum entitled: "*Memoire pour servir de breve instruction, etc. . . .*" As this *Memoire* had recently been issued in the series of photostat reprints that we know as the Massachusetts Historical Society Facsimiles the next step in the investigation was easy. Thereafter, "one book opening another," I found that the *Memoire* was one of a series of six tracts that deal with the project for the colonization of Guiana instituted by Estienne le Roux,

Seigneur de Royville, in the year 1651, and that five tracts pertaining to this "Compagnie de Terre ferme de l'Amerique ou France Equinoctiale" already had been issued as part of Mr. Ford's valuable facsimiles. The colonization scheme in question was one of the best known French efforts for the settlement of Guiana, and I believe and hope to show that the *Projet* offered to us last fall as a Florida item was printed soon after the formation of the Compagnie on August 29, 1651, and that it has a definite place as the first number in this series of Guiana tracts. Because the Seigneur de Royville was the principal concessionaire of the grant in question, it will be well to designate the following tracts as the Royville series:

- (1) *Projet d'une Compagnie*. (Previously described)
- (2) *Acte d'Association passé entre les sous-signez, & Reconnû pardeuant Rallu & Blanche Notaires, pour l'établissement des Colonies dans la Terre Ferme de l'Amerique*.

4to. A⁴; pages 1-8; text with heading as above, head piece of type flowers and ornamental initial; p. 7: conclusion of *Acte*, signed "De la Boulaye, le Roux de Royville, de l'Isle Marivault, & F. Dolu," dated August 29, 1651; (p. 8: signed, "Rallu." "Blanche." and dated September 4, 1651.) Although this *Acte* was accomplished before the publication of the *Projet*, which says "Plusieurs personnes . . . ont fait une Compagnie," yet I think it was not published until after the *Projet* had appeared in print. It contains the names of the concessionaires and other specific information. It would not have been reasonable to publish these matters and later to publish the *Projet* and leave out of it the names of the principals and the name of the company itself. Therefore I place the *Acte* as second in the series headed by the *Projet*. (Bib. Nat., No. 118, MHS. Facsimiles).

(3) *Lettres Patentes dv Roy, en Forme de Concession, accordées aux sieurs de l'Isle Mariuault, de Royuille & leurs Associez pour l'Etablissement des Colonies dans la Terre Ferme de l'Amerique*.

4to. A⁴; pages 1-7: text with heading as above with decorative woodcut head piece and ornamental initial; p. 7: conclusion of concession dated September 1651; p. 8: blank. (Bib. Nat., No. 134, MHS. Facsimiles.)

(4) Articles et Statvts passez & arrestez entre les Seigneurs associez de la Compagnie de Terre ferme de l'Amerique ou France Equinoctiale, pour l'establissement du Christianisme, commerce & negoce audit pays, en consequence des Lettres patentes du Roy accordées aux sieurs de Royuille & de Lisle Mariuault & leurs associez: et de l'acte d'association passé pardeuant Rallu & Blanche Notaires au Chastelet de Paris le 4. Septembre 1651.

4to. A-E⁴, (E⁴, probably blank); pages 1-37: text with heading as above and with decorative head piece and ornamental initial; p. 37: dated at end, May 3, 1652; p. 38, blank. (Bib. Nat., No. 64 in MHS. Facsimiles.)

(5) Memoire povr servir de breve instruction, tant aux Directeurs & Commissionnaires Provinciaux de la grande Compagnie de l'Amerique, qu'à ceux qui s'y voudront interesser, ou passer dans le País. [Royal Arms] A Paris, chez Gvillavme de Lvyne, Marchand Libraire au Palais, sous la montée de la Cour des Aydes. M. DC. LIII.

4to. A-B⁴, C⁴ with an inserted leaf, numbered 25 and 26, D⁴, E² (E² probably blank); pages 1-34, should be 1-36 as pp.25 and 26 are repeated. Contains a general description of the country and of the scheme, together with blank forms of agreement, indenture, etc. (Bib. Nat., No. 68 in MHS. Facsimiles.)

A variant issue of this tract in the British Museum ends on page 35 instead of page 34 and has part of page 33 and all of page 34 reset, with additional matter relating to the opportunities for the religious education of youth in the colony.

(6) Lettre escrete de Cayenne; contenant ce qvi s'est passé en la descente des François, & leur establissement en l'Amerique. [Decorative device] A Paris; chez Gvillavme de Lvyne, Marchand Libraire, au Palais, sous la montée de la Cour des Aydes. M. DC. LIII.

Sm. 4to. A-B⁴, (B⁴ probably blank); pages 1-14; p. 1: title, verso blank; pp.3-14: text with heading, decorative head piece and ornamental initial. In this letter by one of the faction responsible for Royville's death are related the events leading up

to that catastrophe, the landing and beginnings of the colony. (Bib. Nat., No. 88 in MHS. Facsimiles.)

The interest that one feels in this series of titles is quickened when investigation shows that only one of them is mentioned in the chief bibliography that deals with Guiana. Ternaux-Compans (Notice historique sur Guyane Française, Paris, 1843.) knew only of the *Lettre écrite*. It is further remarkable that the six items are represented in each case by single known copies. Five of the titles are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, a variant of one of these is in the British Museum and the latest to be identified, the *Projet*, is at Providence. The Massachusetts Historical Society Facsimile Series with its intended reproduction of the *Projet* will soon have completed its republication of the whole group of pamphlets. That these tracts have been added to our resources is owing to the breadth and inclusiveness of the plan of that series and to the sensitiveness of the editor's instinct for the rare and important in early Americana.

The typographical features of the six pamphlets, two of them bearing the imprint of Guillaume de Luyne, are of such a character that one is not able to claim an identical typographical origin as evidence of their unity. All of them are printed in the letter commonly used by the better Parisian printers of the day. The use in the *Projet* of the ornamental "P" from Champlain's *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France*, Claude Collet, Paris, 1632, might point to the Collet establishment as the place of origin of that tract; the use of a head piece in the *Lettres patentes* and in the *Articles et statuts* of a different size but of the same design as one in the Champlain might suggest the Collet shop as the source of these two tracts also, and the identity of the typographical flowers in the *Acte* and in the *Projet* might point to a common typographical derivation for these two productions. I believe, however, that the identification of printers by types and ornaments is a dangerous method to employ when dealing with the produc-

tions of cities where many printers were at work with much the same equipment in their type cases, for at this time individuality in these details long since had departed from the European shops. I came to the end of what was to me an interesting typographical comparison believing as I still believe that I had proved nothing by the process. On the other hand it was true that I had found nothing in the course of my study of these details which rendered untenable the theory that the first four tracts of the group at least were the issue of the same press at or near the same date.

My reasons for placing the *Projet* in the Royville series are based on the general tone and on the literary likenesses between it and the other tracts that compose the group. To these reasons must be added that indescribable mental reaction that is sometimes called a "hunch." For the understanding of this learned body, I translate that term as a state of spiritual certainty that cannot be proven or accounted for, but which nevertheless is recognized as playing an important part in religion, in war, in business, in love and in historical research. I shall not attempt further to define that which defies definition, but more practically I shall give you the reasons for my belief that the *Projet* was a preliminary announcement of Royville's scheme for the colonization of the ancient El Dorado.

Briefly the story of the Royville venture in colonization is this. The body of laws and regulations drawn up in advance for the government of the colony formed one of those beautiful, theoretically perfect constitutions that provide ideally for the government of an ancient static community but take no account of the actual conditions of a new land and little of the eccentricities of human nature. Among other defects, it provided for so many civil and military officers that the unproductive caste thus established formed more than a quarter of the whole roster of the expedition. Unfortunately the colony had in it no John Smith to force the drones to labor in the inevitable struggle for

food and shelter. While the ships that bore the colonists still lay in the Seine, the Abbé de l'Isle Marivaut met his death by drowning. Early in the voyage, Royville aroused jealousies and such a determined opposition, that the loss of the temperate and popular Abbé, the second in command of the expedition, was soon perceived to have been particularly grievous. Royville's unpopularity brought about his assassination during the voyage at the hands of some of the associates, and after the landing, internal dissensions and war with the natives brought on the final ruin. A remnant of the colony, aided by the English at Surinam, found its way back to France late in 1653. So ends this story of one of several unsuccessful efforts of the French to settle and develop Guiana, not a futile effort because its failure left hope alive, and taught men once more that if they would bring back the wealth of the Indies they must carry the wealth of the Indies with them, whether in actual gear or in the form of intelligence and loyalty and stable purpose.

The story of the attempted settlement of Guiana by Royville and his associates has been well and fully related in the *Voyage de la France Equinoxiale* by Father Antoine Biet. Full of zeal and of hope for success in the conversion of the natives, this good priest shared from the beginning the misfortunes of the Royville expedition. When, sadder and wiser, he sat down in 1664 to tell the story of the great failure, he had for material his first-hand observation of events in the actual settlement, and, from the sense of a significant passage in his narrative, I believe that he had at hand or well placed in his memory the first four of the six promotion tracts that have been described here. The later tracts, the *Memoire* and the *Lettre écrite*, published in 1653 while he was attempting to find his way home from Guiana, are not mentioned by him in this place. I give now the gist of the paragraphs in which occur the allusions that have been referred to.

Passing as of uncertain value to the argument a

general reference in the Preface of Biet's *Voyage* to printed "projects," we come to solid ground on pages 2 and 3 of the narrative. The author mentions the *Articles et statuts* and the *Lettres patentes* of the company in such terms as leave no doubt that he was familiar with the first at least in its printed form. In the opening sentences of the passage moreover, there seem to be clear references to the *Acte d'Association* and to the *Projet*: "Ils commencerent," says the historian, "tous cinq à former leur Compagnie, & afin d'y donner plus de poids, ils consignerent entr'eux la somme de huit mille escus entre les mains d'un notable Bourgeois, qui furent mis dans un coffre fort." I believe that the writer of these words had in sight or in mind the *Acte d'association*, the tract that records the formation of the company and describes in detail the "coffre fort" of one Blanche, a notary, which was to be used as the depository of the funds. Father Biet's next sentence contains matter even more significant. "Ils formerent," he writes, "un projet de leur dessein, qui a esté veu de toute la France; . . ." The word "projet" here is not capitalized, or used as a title, but simply as a general term descriptive of the sort of document that our *Projet* represents. It is clear, however, that this "plan" or "scheme" could not have been "seen" by all France unless it had been a printed piece. It seems to be certain from this statement that there was issued a printed *projet* of the Royville plans, and assuming on Biet's authority that such a piece once had existence, I want to bring out some evidence that this "projet de leur dessein, qui a esté veu de toute la France" was the *Projet d'une Compagnie* that we have before us.

A comparison of the *Projet* text with the texts of the two descriptive pamphlets of the Royville series brings out so many resemblances in matter and in style between them that one would suspect a common literary origin and a common purpose for the three tracts even if other evidence to this end were not adducible. The result of a textual comparison that does not claim to

have exhausted the possibilities of the procedure is given in the following parallel columns:

<i>Projet</i>	<i>Acte</i>
<p style="text-align: center;">Page 1</p> <p>"Plusieurs personnes . . . ont fait une Compagnie pour ce sujet, . . ."</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Page 1</p> <p>Signed by four persons.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Page 8</p> <p>"qui depuis tant de siecles, par un secret, & neantmoins juste jugement de Dieu, demeurent ensevelis dans les tenebres de l'infidelité; . . ."</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Page 1</p> <p>"qui jusques à present par un secret & neantmoins juste jugement de Dieu en ont esté privez: . . ."</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Page 1</p> <p>Recognizes that the missions cannot be established without supporting colonies.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Page 1</p> <p>Recognizes that the missions cannot be established without supporting colonies.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Page 1</p> <p>Commerce and manufactures recognized as essential to the subsistence of colonies.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Page 2</p> <p>Business and commerce recognized as aids to evangelization.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Page 8</p> <p>Those who are interested will be told to whom to apply for further information by calling "chez Monsieur Blanche Notaire au Chastelet de Paris dans la ruë des Assises au coin de la ruë S. Jacques de la Boucherie, . . ."</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Pages 4, 6 and 8</p> <p>Strong box to be kept in the house of "M. François Blanche Notaire au Chastelet de Paris scize ruë des Arcis, . . ."</p> <p><i>Compagnie</i> to meet every Thursday at house of "dudit Blanche, Notaire,"</p> <p>"en la maison de Blanche, l'un desdits Notaires soubsignez, scize ruë des Arcis, Parroisse S. Jacques de la Boucherie: . . ."</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Projet</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 1</p> <p>Description of country and climate: "Toute l'annee y est un perpetuel printems, les arbres y estant continuellement verds & chargez de fleurs & de fruits . . ."</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Memoire</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Page 7</p> <p>Description of country, and climate: "Toute l'année y est un perpetuel Printemps, . . . Les arbres y sont toûjours couverts de feuilles de fleurs & de fruits."</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Page 2</p> <p>" . . . la Culture de la terre y est si facile qu'un seul homme avec ses bras peut faire du pain pour une Famille entiere de vingt personnes; . . ."</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Page 7</p> <p>" . . . la culture de la terre y est si facile, qu'un seul homme avec ses bras peut faire du pain pour la nourriture de cinquante personnes, . . ."</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Pages 5, 6 and 7</p> <p>Products of the country.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Page 9</p> <p>Products of the country.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Pages 2 and 3</p> <p>Description of voyage: Crossing takes a month or five weeks, quiet sea, no rocks, no capes to double, always a pursuing breeze, hardly more than ten or twelve days at sea without meeting islands where one is able to refresh himself.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Page 10</p> <p>Description of voyage: Voyage short, and one is able to land every ten or twelve days during the five or six weeks of the voyage. After leaving Madeira there is always a favorable east breeze all the year around.</p>

In these extracts and references I have compared the *Projet* with the *Acte d'association*, which is probably the second of the Royville series, and with the *Memoire* which is shown by its date of imprint to be the last or the next to the last. Both of these tracts, like the *Projet*, are descriptive in character. From internal evidence there is seen to be no question whatever that the *Acte* and the *Memoire*, the *Lettres patentes*, the *Articles et statuts* and the *Lettre escrete* pertain to the same project, even though the location of the proposed colony, named in the last four tracts, is not designated in the *Acte* any more than it is in the *Projet*. I shall attempt later to account for this circumstance. The comparison of the *Projet* with the *Acte* and with the *Memoire* has shown that there are points of identity and points of resemblance to be observed in each case that could not have been accidental. They must be accounted for either by an identity of authorship, by the use of one as a guide in composing the others, or by a common source yet to be found from which were taken the identical phrases and similar descriptions common to the three tracts.

Perhaps the most positive resemblance between the *Projet* and the *Acte* is found in the occurrence in each of a M. Blanche as a prominent agent of the promoters. In the *Projet* this individual is described as Monsieur Blanche, a notary of the Châtelet of Paris, dwelling in the *Rue des Assises* at the corner of the Rue S. Jacques de la Boucherie. In the *Acte* we read of M. François Blanche, a notary of the Châtelet of Paris, situated in the *Rue des Arcis*, in the parish of S. Jacques de la Boucherie. This difference of street name might cause one to think that here were two Messieurs Blanche, but I believe that a compositor's error has clouded this issue. According to Rochegude and Dumolin, *Guide pratique à travers le vieux Paris*, Paris, 1923, the ancient *Rue des Arcis* was a continuation of the Rue S. Martin, in its turn continued by the Planche Mibray and the Pont Notre Dame. It crossed the Rue S. Jacques de

la Boucherie at a point close to the Church of S. Jacques de la Boucherie; that is, the church of which the famous Tour S. Jacques is now the sole physical reminder. Rochegude does not mention a *Rue d'Assises* either here or elsewhere in Paris, nor have I found such a street name in any ancient directory of the city. I take it therefore that this word was intended in the *Projet* for *Rue d'Arcis*, a substitution that might readily be made by a compositor addicted to the practice of spelling by ear. If this explanation of the different street addresses be accepted, one may assume that the M. François Blanche who in the *Acte* was named as the custodian of the company funds was the same M. Blanche to whom the *Projet* directs the inquiring adventurer.

It is possible, of course, that this M. Blanche could have been agent simultaneously, or at closely succeeding periods, for two companies—one for Florida and another for Guiana colonization—but if this had been the case, I believe he would have seen to it that the publicity writers of the rival companies did not steal each other's fine phrases and in general so describe the two countries that they could not be distinguished by the public for whom the tracts were intended any more readily than by perplexed bibliographers three hundred years later.

We come now to the consideration of less concrete evidence. All of the ancient colonization companies gave the glory of God and the conversion of the savages as important motives of their enterprises. There is so great an insistence on this motive in the *Projet* that one begins to accept it at face value. There would be a reason for this if the *Projet* be indeed part of the Royville series, for, as Father Biet makes clear in his later history of the colony, the presence of the Abbé de l'Isle Marivaut as one of the promoters of this company gave it a missionary intention that was anything but perfunctory. At a time when this well loved Abbé was on the point of asking for a small con-

cession in America wherein he might establish a mission and a seminary he met Royville and was easily persuaded to merge his projected religious enterprise with the secular plans of his new friend. Anyone who reads the Royville pamphlets perceives a religious fervor in all of them that generally in colonization literature is not felt as sincere to the same degree as in these devoutly worded tracts. The fact that the religious element is insistently declared in the *Projet* provides another thread of connection, though a slender one, between it and the other tracts.

One finds a further indication of the Guiana association of the *Projet* in the statement on page 7 that stories of the existence of mines of gold and silver must be true "puisque les anciens habitans François nous l'ont tous attesté conformément à la creance des Sauvages . . ." I believe the only known French inhabitants of Florida up to this time had been the members of the short lived Laudonnière colony, which nearly a century earlier had been wiped out by the Spaniards. On the other hand, since that hapless attempt at settlement there had been made by the French at least three efforts at planting Guiana, and it is known with certainty that Royville had been in touch with a returned member of Bretigny's Guiana expedition of 1643. Indeed, in his *Relation* of the Royville colony, D'Aigremont tells us that its leader's inspiration had come from the stories of the beauty and greatness of the country related to him by the Sieur de Maucourt, a Guiana resident of several years standing. It seems to me that it must have been Maucourt and others of the Bretigny colony how are referred to here as the "anciens habitans François." From the standpoint of probability alone this seems more likely to be the case than that the reference should be to tales surviving from Laudonnière's half-forgotten Huguenot colony of nearly a century earlier.

A curious circumstance makes difficult in one particular the judgment between Guiana and Florida as the

location of the colony proposed in the *Projet*. Ordinarily the lists of natural products in two different colonization tracts would form a satisfactory means of distinguishing between widely separated countries described in each, but in the present case a natural phenomenon deprives us of this simple means of identification. The Gulf Stream, sweeping the Florida coast, compensates that section for its twenty degrees of northward position with relation to Guiana. The consequence is that the climate and the fauna and flora of the two sections are so much alike that only by a scientific classification can the distinction between their endemic plants and animals be shown. As would be expected we have anything but a scientific list of these in the *Projet*, and for this reason the investigator is deprived of what might have been a decisive aid in his labor. For the first time to my knowledge the Gulf Stream, that benign current, has entered the arid field of bibliography as a complicating and disturbing element! To mention concrete examples of the confusion thus created, one finds that the most distinctive trees described by the writers on Guiana, the Brazil wood, the fustic tree and other dye woods are named also as indigenous plants in Bartram's survey of East Florida, and that the lamentin or manaté or sea-cow, an amphibian beast mentioned by all Guiana promoters, is found to be endemic also along the Florida river banks. The only bit of evidence against the Florida theory from the comparison of products is hardly conclusive. The author of the *Projet*, in listing his trees, does not refer to certain growths that are to be found in Florida, as for example the common oak, the chestnut, the maple and the hickory. This omission has a significance, however, that may not be entirely overlooked. When the common familiar trees of the homeland existed in a new country, the writers of promotion tracts were likely to mention them with emphasis. These gentry were adepts in what we express in our cant as "the psychology of selling," and

they were quick to assure the prospective settler of similarities rather than of differences in the conditions and products of the old and new land.

When we consider the short list of manufactured products mentioned in the *Projet* however, we are immediately aware that the case for the attribution of the tract to Guiana has been strengthened. The cotton plant of course is indigenous to both countries, but we are not told anywhere that the Florida Indians had built up a regular trade in cotton cloth with the French West Indies. On the other hand, no writer on Guiana fails to mention a certain important cotton cloth product of the native tribes. We must quote two of these references: Raleigh writes of the "great store of cotton" and of the trade in "those beds which they call Hamacas or brasill beds." The *Projet* has the following paragraph: "Une quantité incroyable de Cottons filez & non filez, des lits de coton qu'ils appellent Amacs, & de la Pite qui est une espece de Chanvre bien plus blanc que le nostre, dont on fait des toiles & des cordages. Ces lits de Cotton ont grand cours dans toutes les Isles habitées par les François, & le trafic en est considerable."

This lively trade in cotton hammocks between the people of the *Projet* country and the inhabitants of the French West Indies must have emanated from Guiana rather than from a country where the spinning and weaving of the cotton staple seem to have been processes unattained by the aboriginal inhabitants.

The source from which these descriptions are obtained is a matter of some interest. The author of the *Memoire* affirms that his description of the Guiana country has been taken from page 58 . . . "de l'Hydrographie, qui est le cinquiesme tome de l'Atlas achevé d'imprimé l'an 1650." The reference is to volume five of Janson's great Atlas, published in Amsterdam, 1646-1650, whence, in many instances word for word, the descriptive passages of the *Memoire* have been extracted. This source does not seem to

have been used by the author of the *Projet*. The Janson *Hydrographie*, published as it was in 1650, might have been used by an author writing, as did the author of the *Projet*, if my assumptions are correct, at some time after August 29, 1651, but evidently this great descriptive volume had not yet come into his hands, for he seems to have gone to other sources for his information.

It proves to be difficult, however, to point to any single printed work from which the descriptive passages of the *Projet* could have been taken. There was already in existence at this time a respectable body of Guiana literature in which the country in general is described in the terms used by Raleigh in the *Discoverie* of 1596. The De Bry version of Raleigh's book, in all editions, omits some of the items in the detailed lists of the English original, so that the author of the *Projet*, who includes these names of products, could not have had the popular De Bry translations before him at the time of composition. It is probable that Raleigh's original narrative was made use of by this writer or that he was familiar with a version of it made by some earlier writer on Guiana whose work I have not been able to identify. It is known that Raleigh's account of Guiana affected the whole of the literature of the subject for half a century after its publication. Mocquet's narrative is sometimes quoted in the Guiana tracts of French writers, but the resemblance of the *Projet* to this relation is quickly seen to be less than to Raleigh's *Discoverie*.

In the *Acte* no more than in the *Projet* is the whereabouts of the proposed colony made certain. The author of the descriptive note that came to us with the pamphlet, convinced that the location was Florida, seemed to think that this reticence was induced by fear of alarming the Spaniards, and if the location had been Florida this explanation would be satisfactory. When one assumes, however, that the colony proposed in the *Projet* was to be established in Guiana, an equally

cogent motive for silence as to its location is immediately found. If this hypothesis as to location is correct, the *Projet* and the *Acte* were published before the concession had been granted to Royville and before the existing charter of an earlier enterprise, the *Compagnie du Cap de Nord*, had been withdrawn by the *Lettres patentes* of September, 1651. This company, composed of merchant adventurers of Rouen, had been given in 1640 the same concessions in Guiana that Royville now sought from the King. It had failed to make a successful settlement or to convert the heathen to the Christian and catholic faith, but now on August 29, 1651, the date of the *Acte*, in spite of its failure, it still held the monopoly of all the territory between the Orinoco and the Amazon. Until the *lettres patentes* for the new company should have been issued and the charter of the Rouen company revoked, therefore, it was only common caution on the part of the Royville associates to refrain from encroachment on chartered rights even to the extent of mentioning in the preliminary tracts that Guiana was the location of their proposed colony.

This brings me to the point of summarizing my reasons for believing the *Projet* to be one of the tracts in the Royville series relating to the attempted settlement of Guiana in 1652.

1. The inherent probability that this is the case which is likely to be felt by one who examines the whole series.

3. Biet's statement that the concessionaires of the Royville grant had formed "un projet de leur dessein, qui a esté veu de toute la France; . . .".

3. The extraordinary textual parallelisms of the *Projet* and the *Acte* and the *Memoire*.

4. The occurrence of M. Blanche, the notary, as agent in both the *Projet* and the *Acte*.

5. The unusual degree of insistence on the religious motive that runs through the series, including the *Projet*.

6. The reference to "les anciens habitans François" in the *Projet*.

7. The reference in the *Projet* and in earlier Guiana literature to the manufacture by the natives of cotton hammocks and to the trade in these articles that existed between them and the inhabitants of the French West Indies.

Not all of these pieces of evidence are of equal weight nor added together even do they compel conviction, but I believe that they must be taken into consideration if the *Projet* is to be claimed as a Florida tract and not as a piece of French Guiana colonization literature.

II

The French plans for the colonization of Guiana seem to have been genuine settlement and development enterprises. After Raleigh found that the road to El Dorado led to the scaffold and the headsman's "sharp medicine," the promoters of other expeditions to Guiana went about their business as soberly as successful colonizers everywhere must do. The earlier history of Guiana development, however, is a story of a different sort. From the year 1531, when the Spaniard Martinez came back from his wanderings with his tale of Manoa the Golden, the glittering city by the shore of an inland sea, down to Raleigh's failure in 1617, the search for El Dorado provides one of those exhibitions of persistence and of human intrepidity that relate men to the gods. Whatever may be our judgment of their motives, whether we label them with "greed for gold" or "lust for empire" or with some other moralistic tag, we can feel nothing but admiration for their high adventurousness and pity for their sufferings and ultimate failure.

It was only incidental to their real purpose that these expeditions in search of El Dorado opened unknown rivers and plains to human knowledge and made evident the immensity and the commercial richness of a

country that by the adventurers had been looked upon simply as a barrier between them and the fabulous gilded city of the Incas. There is cause for rueful mirth in the reflection that the wealth they sought lay thereabouts all the time, placer gold in plenty, as witnessed the old legends of a river running over sands of gold. Nearly 300 years after Raleigh's death some of the richest gold deposits of the earth were discovered in Guiana.

Between the French expedition to the Guiana Coast under Ravardiere in 1604, described in the fine narrative of Jean Mocquet, and their successful settlement under la Barre in 1664, there were granted three other royal charters for the colonization of a domain that today is the only remaining French possession on the American mainland. The history of these unsuccessful efforts may be read in many contemporary publications, but none of the stories is as well documented as that which relates the mischances of the Royville company. In addition to the promotion tracts that have been listed here there exist a *Relation du Voyage . . . fait . . . sous la conduite de Monsieur de Royville*, by J. de Laon, sieur D'Aigremont, one of the military officers of the company, issued in 1654, and the formal history, already cited, entitled *Voyage de la France Equinoxiale*, published in 1664 by Antoine Biet, superior of the priests who went into the country. Often one has occasion to observe, as here, how well known are the stories of frustrated enterprises, how broad the stage and how large the audience when men walk maladroitly.

SAMUEL SALISBURY—A BOSTON MERCHANT IN THE REVOLUTION

BY CHARLES L. NICHOLS

SAMUEL, son of Nicholas and Martha Salisbury, was born in Boston in the year 1739. His father died in 1748, and after finishing his studies under the famous schoolmaster, John Lovel, the young man began his business life in 1757 as a hardware merchant in his native town.

In the earliest account book preserved, are to be found two entries of interest, the records of a London Adventure and those of a Bristol Adventure, showing that he had risked the purchase of English goods in these two places and that his ambition was to become something more than a local merchant as his father had been during the son's boyhood. The success of these ventures confirmed him in his efforts to found an Importing and Commission House.

When his younger brother, Stephen, born two years before his father's death, came of age, he was taken into partnership, a branch house was established in Worcester and the young man placed in charge of it.

Samuel Salisbury builded better than he knew, for, when evil days came to Boston, this branch not only saved the business but brought a steadily increasing income to the firm until the Boston house could once more be established on a paying basis at the close of the war.

The correspondence between the two brothers has been largely preserved and is now in our Ms. collections and that which relates to the stirring times of the American Revolution in Massachusetts contains many letters of interest and some of real importance.

An advertisement of this partnership, printed about 1767, announces the firm of:

S. & S. SALISBURY,

Importing from London, Bristol, Birmingham and Sheffield a large assortment of Hardware goods, which they sell very cheap, by Wholesale and Retail, at their shop in Boston, two doors southward of Dr. Silvester's in Marlborough Street and at their shop in Worcester upon the west side of the Bridge near the Goal.

It further states that the goods in Worcester will be sold as cheap as at Boston, thus saving the good people of Worcester the cost of transportation. This argument was so potent that, on January 11, 1767, Stephen wrote his brother Samuel, that he was to send down £80. in gold, with more soon to follow, and urged him to forward the list of goods enclosed, which he could sell if delivered at once. It should be stated here that only those parts of these letters are quoted which relate directly to the course of this narrative, the remainder being filled with business details.

The early letters of Stephen show little experience in business matters, his handwriting even being boyish and irregular, and are in sharp contrast with those of a few years later which had rapidly developed him in every way.

At the outset he naturally complained that his hours were long and tiresome, even his evenings being occupied at the store until late. To one of these Samuel wrote in reply on Nov. 10, 1767: "Your letter read and note contents. Am glad that you are well employed about this world; but hope you wont forget the other to which we are all hastening."

This is unusual from a man of 28 to his brother of 21 in the midst of business cares but it shows the strong character of the elder and his earnest wish that his younger brother might take a high stand in his new and untried surroundings. Another matter of interest, in connection with these letters and in contrast with the present day custom, is the final sentence in nearly

every letter written by Stephen, "Give my Duty to my Honored Mother."

At the end of his first year, Stephen was approached by Clark Chandler, for many years the esteemed Town Clerk of Worcester but later compelled to expunge from his records sentiments unfavorable to the Patriot cause. His family had a shop of English goods, dry goods and hardware and, fearing that the new firm would sell other goods than hardware, he urged the new merchant not to interfere with their old established trade. Relating this incident, Stephen, on Nov. 19, 1767, wrote Samuel: "I told him that our business was quite a different branch from his and, if he would send away his hardware, I did not doubt, if they kept a full assortment of dry goods and we of hardware, it would in time result in a great advantage to us both by keeping people from going to other towns to buy," and within a month the matter was settled agreeably to the interests of both parties.

The promulgation of the Act of Parliament imposing a tax on paper, tea and other importations into the Colonies, aroused the indignation laid at rest by the repeal of the stamp act. On Nov. 18, 1767, Samuel's letter says: "The Duty takes place on Friday. Some Gentlemen say that they wont pay it. What will be the consequences I cant say. If there is any disturbance I shall give you a particular account"; and on the 26, he wrote: "The Duty upon Tea I expect to pay but as we shall be on the footing with our Neighbours we must not complain. I am very glad you now enjoy a Good State of Health which, I pray God, may continue and that you may be suitable thankful for and improve it to the Glory of him from whom you receive it."

On Dec. 9, he wrote: "In Boston we are going to leave off drinking Tea. Mr. Cushing's family began this week and others are doing so. A number of people of fashion wont taste a drop."

In spite of these clouds which were gathering, the Worcester branch seemed to thrive and Samuel wrote

many times of his satisfaction at the progress made and the great help in meeting his importing obligations which the frequent consignments of money from Worcester gave him.

In 1770, Stephen had outgrown his small quarters and erected a house on the north side of Lincoln Square, still called Salisbury Mansion and a notable example of Colonial architecture, which was in part used as his store, the rest being occupied for his residence. He was already well acquainted with the best people of the town and his new home, one of the most pretentious then erected, placed him on a firm footing in a social way as his shop had already done in the business world.

In every village and town of those days, as of today, there was a social aristocracy, the lines of which were drawn far more closely than in the cities of the present time. In Worcester, the Paines, the Chandlers and the Putnams were leaders of fashion and as John Adams, when a schoolmaster in Worcester twenty years before, had been welcomed among them so Stephen Salisbury was taken freely into their homes and became one of their number.

All this was rudely shaken by the news contained in the letter of his brother dated, March 13, 1770, and the social bonds and friendships which he had made began to divide and become established along political lines, as the next few years urged the people forward to a yet unknown and un-charted goal.

On that date, Samuel wrote: "By the papers you will see the dismal Tragedy acted here last week. This day week I did not know whether I should ever see you again. The 29th Regiment is all gone to the Castle, the 14th is a following and we have the Col's word and honour, there shall not be a man in town by Friday. There has been a military watch ever since this melancholy affair and is to continue. The troops are all gone."

The Boston Massacre, as would be expected, added

fuel to the fire of old troubles and two months later led to the non-importation action.

On May 23, 1770, Samuel wrote: "This morning through Amory and that party's influence, a number met at the British Coffee House about forty. I was invited and did attend. They voted, as their sentiments, to import fall goods except tea, provided New York and Philadelphia concurred with them, and that, this their vote should be communicated to the General meeting which was to be in the afternoon. I was the only one that voted against it, my reason was I thought we ought not to do anything till we heard the result of Parliament. In the afternoon their proposal was made to the General meeting, and after a considerable debate they voted strictly to adhere to the agreement of non-importation till a total repeal of the Tea Act shall take place."

On June 7, a teamster was caught, taking goods from an importer and was threatened with tar and feathers, so strongly did the people feel on this issue and so strict a watch did they keep upon its infraction. Samuel Salisbury wrote of it: "My advice to them was to take the man, not his effects. The teamster, after the goods was stored, was made to mount his wagon and solemnly to declare he would not directly or indirectly cart or convey any goods for an importer." On the 20th of the same month, another man being detected and treated in the same way, Mr. Salisbury wrote: "For my part I am for encouraging such proceedings or else break the agreement, for I have no notion keeping my hands tied, and let these people transport freely and thereby prevent the good effect. You'll excuse my being so tedious as I am willing to give you what information I can of the proceedings here."

For the next two years the letters are filled with business largely, with an occasional query about tea and here and there a note of family or social interest. In one letter was a hint of the possible engagement of

their favorite sister Betsy and the final invitation to the wedding, the fortunate man being Samuel Barrett, who, fifteen years later was Secretary of the Convention which drew up the State Constitution. On March 19, 1771, Samuel wrote: "'Tis said that John Hancock courts Dolly Quincy. 'Tis certain he visits her and has her company in private every evening." This report was confirmed by their marriage in 1775. On January 3, 1773, Samuel writes: "I should be glad you would inform me how your people stand affected to tea. Have you or any shops in Worcester any to sell? The traders here are much divided, some are for wholly excluding it, others are for selling Dutch tea."

When however, later in the year, the tax on English tea only was removed and ships from that country brought tea to Boston, the blow fell. Samuel Salisbury, always ready to keep his brother informed, wrote: "Friday morning, 6 o'clock, Dec, 17. 1773. I would now notify you that last evening, after applying to the Gov'r for a pass for Mr. Rotch's ship, and his refusing it, the meeting of the people was dissolved. The consequence of which was they immediately repaired to Griffin's Wharf, where lay the three ships with tea on board, and before 9 o'clock it was all destroyed by breaking open the chests and shovelling and pouring it into the sea. What the consequences [of that act will be] time will discover. God grant they may be happy! Such is the present flame against tea of any kind you must excuse me sending any more. One Connor, having filled his pockets with tea, he was stripped naked by the people, his clothes thrown away and had like to have been thrown overboard himself."

The conditions in Worcester were very different from those in Boston. The most influential people in town, and the personal friends of Stephen were strong loyalists and did not hesitate to express themselves to that effect both in private and in town meetings. The result was that, in addition to a Committee of Correspondence common to all the towns, a new organization

was formed there, called the American Political Society. The direct object of this society was to oppose this loyalist influence and, as it welded together those who espoused the cause of the Patriot, it became a power in the town and for several years directed the policy of that party and of the town itself. That this society did not confine itself to local affairs is seen in the letter of Stephen dated April 20, 1774: "Our Grand Jurors have done themselves great honour at this Court and when the proceedings are published I hope no one will ever presume to call this county a Tory county."

This letter refers to the action taken by the American Political Society on April 4. The records state: "Voted, nem. con. that this society will, each one of them, bear and pay their equal part of the fine and charge that may be laid on Messrs. Joshua and Timothy Bigelow for their refusal to be impaneled upon the Grand Jury at our next Superior Court, Court of Assizes, for the County of Worcester if they shall be chosen into that office, and their refusal is founded on the following principle (viz) that they cannot, consistent with good conscience and order, serve if Peter Oliver, Esq. is present on the Bench, as Chief Justice or Judge of said Court, before he is lawfully tried and acquitted from the high crimes and charges for which he now stands impeached by the Hon'ble House of Representatives of this Province and the major part of the Grand Jurors for the whole county join them in refusing to serve for the reasons aforesaid."

This remonstrance, signed by the Grand Jurors, was presented at the opening of the Superior Court, on April 19, and the remonstrants were informed by the Justices that Mr. Oliver was not likely to be present, as was proved to be the case.

On May 11, 1774, Samuel wrote: "This day I send you sundry newspapers and the Act of Parliament which has set this town into great consternation. If our goods dont arrive before 1st June, I expect to have

to cart them from Salem or Marblehead." Two days later his letter said: "The other colonies are to be sent to, to know what part they will take,—whether they will unite with us in opposing this cruel Act of Parliament, or endeavour to build themselves up on our Ruin. If they do unite with us in putting a stop to all trade with Great Britain and the West Indian Islands we doubt not, with the blessing of God, to obtain success."

When the Port of Boston was finally closed, Stephen wrote from Worcester, on May 14, to his brother: "We are sensible of the unhappy situation you are in and the absolute necessity of a union of the Provinces throughout the Colonies and without it nothing we can do will have any good effect. It is reported here, I know not what foundation they have for it, that you are one of those who are for paying for the tea and I can hardly think it possible when I consider the many fatal consequences that will inevitably attend the payment. We shall ever after be subjected to Internal Taxes, our Properties, nay our Lives will not be safe and if we dont submit to every imposition placed upon us it is only for them to block up our harbours and we shall then be made willing to consent to do anything that they require. I am glad the Parliament is about altering our Constitution. The greater the burdens and the more excessive they are the greater the probability of a union among ourselves. However it is in vain to think of paying for the tea, for Boston is not able, the country is not willing, and such is the spirit of the people in general, nay universal in the country, that should application be made to our Assembly and they should be so imprudent as to consent to tax us, you may depend upon a general insurrection."

On June 22, 1774, Samuel wrote: "I would not advise you to sign the covenant nor take the oath upon any account whatever." And his August 18, letter reads: "I had the disagreeable sight of the Governor and Council walking in procession, among whom was

our friend, Mr. Paine, which I was sorry to see as I conclude from that he has taken the oath."

This referred to Mr. Timothy Paine who had been appointed a Mandamus Councillor, an office which, two days later, he was compelled to resign by a gathering of more than a thousand of his fellow townsmen.

On August 20, Stephen had written: "Guns are in great demand as well as powder, I would therefore have you send me all the longest guns you have. Guns, French flints and bar lead. The uncertainty of the times, together with the party spirit, which I am afraid will run to excess, makes life in this town very disagreeable." On Sept. 7, he spoke of an alarm: "Between 2 & 3 o'clock in the morning I was sent for with the melancholy news that the soldiers had fired upon our people, killed six and wounded a number and further that the ships were playing upon the town of Boston. [This rumor referred to the expedition of the troops up the Mystic River to Charlestown for gunpowder which had been concealed there]. I cannot pretend to give you any particular account of the conduct of our country people. Suffice it to say that they discovered the greatest courage and the firmest resolution to die before [yielding.]

"I took that day £173. in cash, for powder, &c. On Monday, £97, and yesterday £380. I have with me above £1000. I have been obliged to take the oath that the goods that I now have on hand were imported before the last of August, I refused to swear any further." The last statement refers to the pressure brought to bear on him by the American Political Society as seen in their records, of Sept. 5, "Voted that Stephen Salisbury be admitted into our society to offer an oath administered by Artemas Ward, Esq. relative to the nonimportation of English goods. Voted unanimously not to accept the oath in our society that the above gentleman hath produced."

In the letter September 30, he also wrote: "I would inform you that this town, on Monday, added three

men to the Committee of Correspondence. They again chose me in the above and I should have absolutely refused had it not been I have already incurred their displeasure by repeated refusals of that kind. I did not think it would have been prudent to have been excused as I should have got more ill will than I have at present, which I don't desire. However to neglect private business upon this account I cannot consent to, let the consequences be as it may. Our business here will not admit of my attending many of their meetings for I have as much private business as I can attend to. How to conduct in this affair at this difficult day is a good deal perplexing."

In his reply a few days later, Samuel wrote: "I think you was right in accepting the office to which you was chosen and would advise you giving what attendance you can consistent with our business."

Several of the letters quoted hint at the natural differences in opinion as to their strictness in adherence to the non-importation agreement, they also hint at open breaches of faith among the merchants. Samuel wrote that in his opinion their Worcester competitor was purchasing English goods, and should be shown up in his evil ways. In the letter of Sept. 30, Stephen continued: "The information that you have given me is not full enough. I should be glad if you could inform me by what vessel his goods came, because if he has imported contrary to the spirit of the Covenant entered into it is my duty to acquaint the Committee who has signed the solemn covenant. But I ought to have the intelligence straight and positive not surmises. The trader in this town, taking the oath as he has done has been a damage to me for it has made many of my customers dissatisfied with me for not consenting to do as he has done, preferring to trade with him, looking upon him as more friendly to the Liberties of America and more willing to sacrifice his private interests for the good of his country than I am. Therefore if he acts 'under the curtain' it is not only our duty but to our private interests to expose him."

His heart was, however, in the right place for he continued: "I must remind you not to purchase upon any account of any of the importers who have imported since the last of August nor purchase a single article (of any other person) which was imported contrary to the spirit of the Covenant. If you regard my peace of mind and your own interest pray be cautious."

The importance which was attached to the adherence of Stephen Salisbury to the patriotic party in Worcester because of his standing and ability was shown in his appointment and reappointment on the Committee of Correspondence and election as a member of the American Political Society. When the town meeting of Oct. 26, 1774, appointed a committee to inspect the goods of merchants to discover unlawful importations and to draw up rules for its guidance, Nathan Baldwin, the chairman, sent these instructions to Stephen Salisbury for advice saying: "Any addition to the plan that your superior abilities shall suggest for the public weal will be well received by all friends to American Liberty, every fair trader, and oblige your friend and humble servant, Nathan Baldwin." It also shows the development which those seven years of his life in Worcester had wrought in the immature youth of 1767. It must be remembered, in considering the apparent reluctance of the Salisbury brothers to take definite sides in the great struggle, that no thought of separation from England had yet been entertained, that at this very time a Petition of the Grand American Continental Congress in Philadelphia had been sent to the King, urging the redress of their grievances and vowing fidelity to him and to their mother country. Indeed another Petition, similar to this one, was prepared by the Congress on July 22, 1775, three months after the battle of Bunker Hill and forwarded to the King. So little did the colonists see whither they were inevitably tending! Yet whatever their ignorance of the future separation or their unwillingness to accept it, events were shaping themselves to that end.

On Dec. 14, Samuel wrote: "For these two days past, a Regiment each day has marched a few miles out of town, with their packs at their backs, drums beating, colours flying and their surgeon with them. It is said it is a common thing for them to march in this manner to air themselves and use them to travel. I did not know but it might occasion false reports in the country which is the reason of my giving you the information."

On March 10, 1775, he wrote: "I cannot buy you powder at any price. Yesterday there was a Royal Mob, composed of Col. Nesbit and a number of other officers, with a poor countryman tarred and feathered. This is thought to be a grand manoeuver though the Gov'nr declared to the Selectmen that he knew nothing about it. I believe they are greatly ashamed of the affair. I hope there will be happy consequences follow as they have now given us a good handle."

The next letter is dated, April 4, and says: "By the papers you will see that Parliament is determined to pursue their measures. However dont be discouraged but be steady and attend to our business as usual, trusting in that God who has preserved us hitherto and begging of him to continue the union of the colonies which, I am not yet without hope, will be the means of bringing Great Britain to her senses and obliging her to restore to us those rights and privileges which have been so unjustly taken away. I think the uncertainty of the times clearly points out to us that our greatest attention in business should be to the collecting in of our outstanding debts which we must exert every nerve to accomplish."

On the 10th, he wrote again: "Many people are moving out of town and our situation is at present so disagreeable and our property so insecure that I would advise you to come to Boston, after this reaches you, to consult what measures we had best take to secure our property as there is many things I shall want to send to Worcester."

This request was made too late for his letter of

April 20, reads: "Yesterday was the most melancholy day that I ever saw. Fellow subjects engaged in a Bloody Battle against each other. The Americans, by the assistance of Heaven, drove them down to Charlestown where I saw them, from Beacon Hill, engaged. A most terrible sight it was. They are very backward in owning how many men they lost and would have it believed it was very few. They say fifty, some seventy, but I believe the number to be vastly greater. They seem now to be sensible the Americans will fight. Our neighbour, Mansfield, is missing and is supposed to be killed fighting against the Americans. If Mr. Waldo is with you let him know his family is well. May God of his infinite mercy prevent the effusion of any more human blood and put a stop to the terrible calamity of a Civil War."

In the days following there was misery, panic and almost despair in the beleaguered town of Boston with uncertainty and inability to obtain news of those shut in the town by their families and friends outside its borders. Gradually order was brought out of chaos and on May 3, Samuel wrote his brother: "You may depend upon it nothing in our power shall be wanting to procure a Pass and send the families out and with them what necessaries we can, as soon as possible. I would rather my family should go to Worcester." The same day he wrote again: "By your several letters you appear very urgent for me to come out. I have so much of our fortune to take care of that I cannot in conscience leave the town. I think I am in the way of duty to tarry and trust in the Almighty for protection." Samuel Barrett, his brother-in-law, wrote that evening: "We have got a pass for your mother, sister Sally, sister Salisbury, and children, Mrs. Barrett and children, Mrs. Waldo's children and maid and boy and Mrs. Barrett's maid. Will you meet them at the Charlestown ferry at 2 or 3 o'clock?"

Stephen Salisbury had come down directly after the 19th, and stayed at Watertown, where they had cus-

tomers but as Samuel did not know of that fact for some time they could not make use of him until now.

In a day or two Samuel wrote him: "It was a great satisfaction to Mr. Barrett and myself that when we parted with our dear ones at the ferry they were going directly to the care of those in whom we could place confidence." On the evening of this 3rd. of May he again wrote: "The news of the evening is now, liberty to carry out merchandise, the town was informed this afternoon in meeting by a letter from Gen. Robinson. However, if that is the case I shall not be in a hurry to transport any goods until I can see my way clear and that thereby I am like to better myself."

He did, however, send many of the company's books, the cash, and a few valuables, with such furniture as the women were allowed to remove from the town. They were sent by boat up the river to their warehouses at Watertown.

In reply to further appeals from Stephen that he leave town, Samuel wrote: "(June 6,) I cant be reconciled to leave at present. I think it is my duty to take care of our interests and although I cant defend it in case of attack, it is at present in my power to protect it from thieves and robbers which we are surrounded with. Empty houses are broken open, goods are stolen and some destroyed."

That Samuel was right in his stand is verified by a letter from Edmund Quincy, written from Lancaster the following year, in which he congratulates him: "upon the singular preservation of your house and mercantile interests in the lately disturbed town of Boston, while so many of your neighbors have sustained heavy losses."

The difficulty of intercommunication became more and more marked for on August 2, Samuel wrote Stephen that he had received a letter from brother Waldo from Providence but with that exception he had had no word for two months. He had written him in July: "If you would send an open letter to Head-

quarters at Cambridge just to let me know you and the family are well, it is very likely it may be forwarded to me, the hearing of which would give great pleasure."

It was, without question, this difficulty of inter-communication which prevented Samuel Salisbury, a voluntary prisoner in Boston, from writing his brother a description of the battle of Bunker Hill. In the same town, however, there was another voluntary prisoner, as his letter will show, who wrote his brother, already in London, his version of that battle which meant so much to the Patriot cause.

This letter was written by Samuel Paine, son of the Timothy Paine mentioned in this paper as compelled to resign his office of Mandamus Councillor. It will be seen that this Samuel Paine, though a staunch loyalist, was obliged to speak well of his countrymen's courage and determination.

After the war he returned to his native town of Worcester where he died in 1807.

The letter reads:

"Boston, headquarters British Army, N. America,
June 22, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER:

By the (Cerberus) I have an opportunity of writing you, by which altho I can take but little pleasure in recounting things shocking to relate yet I am sensible it must afford you sincere satisfaction to hear from this country and the situation of your dearest human connections and altho the situation of my mind, in every thing anxious, will scarce permit me to set down and write anything connected, yet sure I am you'll excuse it, but the variety of events constantly happening, and the ample field which the politics of this country affords at present, almost confuses me in writing. I left Worcester last Tuesday week, after passing through too many insults, and too cruel treatment to trouble you with the recital, as well as my friends, and by strategem and the greatest good Fortune, I passed thro the numerous Provincial armies, which had besieged this town in every part by land, and arrived safe, and a novelty it was to see or hear of a person from the country, I being the only and last one that has been in since the seige commenced, I have been treated with the greatest politeness by some of the principal officers of the Army. Your wife, child and all our friends

were then well. My father, a prisoner, is confined to the town and disarmed, with a number of others among whom I was one, but have made my escape.

The King's troops have gained, tho' at a great loss, a surprising victory over the rebels last Saturday, an awful scene of which I was an eye witness and have since been on the field of battle, and shall endeavour for your satisfaction to give some account of it. After the Concord expedition, affairs took a turn, a large army was immediately raised, and every passage to the town of Boston inclosed. The Prov. Congress, conducted extremely well, put their army on pay by issuing a large sum of paper currency, and they appeared very formidable, having plenty of artillery. In various encounters with the King's troops, they got the better, were flushed with victory, held the British soldier in the highest contempt. The surrender of the important fortress of Ticonderoga, to the American arms, heightened their enthusiasm.

In this situation of their minds, last Friday night being very dark, many thousands, took possession of a high hill in Charlestown called Bunkers, that commands the whole of this town, and before morning they had completed a redoubt and such entrenchments as did honor to the engineer and this town lay exposed to a fire, which must have ruined it unless prevented.

As soon as it was discovered from Copp's Hill, near the ferry on which is a fine battery, the lively Glasgow and the battery began to play, and a most furious cannonade began, upon the rebels, which they returned seven times upon the town. Instead of quitting their post, large reinforcements were sent from Cambridge Headquarters of their army, and matters here began to be serious about one o'clock. All the Grenadiers and light Infantry of the whole army, reinforced to about 3000 under the conduct of the gallant Lord Howe, and Abercromby embarked from the Long Wharf, with twelve brass pieces, and landed at a point back of Charlestown, in full view of the rebels, who still kept their post, the troops being annoyed, from some houses in Charlestown, the ships threw (fire bombs) into it and in a few mins. the whole town was in flames, a most awful, grand and melancholy sight. In the mean time, the troops marched on towards the hill for the intrenchments, under a most heavy fire of artillery on both sides. Never did I see such a day. I was on Beacon Hill in full prospect. In about thirty minutes the troops were nigh the works, exposed to an amazing fire of small arms, for by this time the rebels amounted to 10,000. In a few mins. we heard the shouts of the British army, whom we now saw entering the breastworks, and soon they entered and a most terrible slaughter began, upon the rebels, who now were every one shuffling for himself. The

troops pursued them over the next hill, beyond Temple's house, and were masters of the field of battle.

The troops have suffered extremely, there being about 24 officers killed, and near 60 wounded and about 700, rank and file, killed and wounded.

The rebels lost a vast many, among whom was Doct. Warren, a noted rascal, and Willard Moore, of Paxton, a Lt. Col. We have about 30 prisoners here, some of whom are to be executed. After the firing ceased I went over, and, good God what a sight, all the horrors of war death and rebellion. The British army is encamped upon the high hills of Charlestown, in fine spirits, will advance into the country, as soon as possible, laying waste and devastation wherever they go. What the event of all these matters will be God only knows.

Perhaps you may see some better account of the matter, I shall spare you further. The rebels are very numerous and continue to beseige the passages and entrenching themselves upon every strong post about.

Your papers are all in town. You may depend upon my taking the same care as if they were my own, and in case of any accident here, I shall be for securing them, for God only knows what a day may bring forth. We are in continual motion and are now all in the dark. Last evening 1900 troops under Gen'l Clinton embarked in four transports, their destination not known, but no doubt Salem, Marblehead, Newbury &c will be in ashes before night. All the troops, ordered to New York, are now to come here which, including Preston's regiment of light horse, which has arrived safe and in fine order, will make about 20 regiments so that we may expect a bloody summer, for my countrymen fight well for them and are determined at all events to die or conquer."

It seems wise to include this letter written by a personal friend of the Salisbury's in the earlier days and again after the war was finished and amnesty declared, even though the point of view differed from that which would have been described by Samuel Salisbury had his correspondence been readily carried through the lines.

The days and weeks passed slowly for Samuel Salisbury in his voluntary prison, and were filled with constant anxiety for his family and friends from whom he was so effectively shut off. At last, having effected such saving of his property and that of his friends as was possible, he decided to leave the shop and its con-

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tents in the care of Joseph Webb, a trusted employee, and reached Worcester the middle of August where we will take leave of him once more united with his family.

As the wayfarer passes, in the evening, an open window and gains a glimpse of the family life within, so we have seen a brief picture of this Boston merchant and his brother during a trying period of their lives and of the larger life of a people striving against their wills to become a nation.

NAVAL SONGS AND BALLADS

BY GARDNER W. ALLEN

IN THE library of this Society is a collection of broadsides marked: "Songs, Ballads, etc. In three Volumes. Purchased from a Ballad Printer and Seller in Boston, 1813. Bound up for Preservation, to show what articles of this kind are in vogue with the Vulgar at this time, 1814. N. B. Songs and common Ballads are not so well printed at this time as 70 years ago, in Boston. Presented to the Society by Isaiah Thomas. August 1814."

There are in this set three hundred and two broadsides containing three hundred and forty-nine distinct poems. Mr. Ford says of them that "no other American library can offer anything like it for the period, and all other libraries combined would still hardly be able to match the contents of these three volumes."¹

In this collection of broadsides are about fifty American naval songs, more than two thirds of them relating to the War of 1812; others to the Revolution and to our hostilities with France and Tripoli. A few are perhaps more political than naval; it is not always easy to draw the line between them. There are a number of other songs, concerning the sea or sailors of a sentimental sort, of less interest to the historian. Several of these latter are British. Fourteen of the naval ballads are listed in "Broadsides, Ballads, etc., Printed in Massachusetts, 1639-1800."² About half

¹"The Isaiah Thomas Collection of Ballads," by Worthington C. Ford. *Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc.* XXXIII (1923) p. 35.

²*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* Vol. 75 (1922), edited by W. C. Ford. This volume contains about eighteen titles of naval ballads not in the Thomas collection. In the Harvard College Library collection of broadsides the naval ballads, kindly assembled by Prof. G. L. Kittredge, seem to include only two or three of those in the Thomas collection and about fifteen not in it. In Paine's "Ships and Sailors of Old Salem" (p. 216) is a reproduction of a broadside entitled "Captain of the Essex," not seen elsewhere.

of all these naval songs bear the imprint of Nathaniel Coverly, Jr., Milk St., Boston, who presumably was the "Ballad Printer" alluded to by Mr. Thomas.

The songs are nearly all anonymous and few will deny, after reading them, that oblivion is a kinder fate for most of the writers than would be the reputation of their authorship. It is believed that not many of these poetical effusions were ever reprinted from the original broadsides, even in the newspapers of the day; a few, however, have found their way into popular song-books.

Patriotic songs and ballads, relating to war and battles on land and sea, reflect the popular sentiment of their day and have a certain historical value. The British began to write such ballads as early as the fourteenth century, but in no great numbers before Elizabeth's time. Sea songs and poems of this sort were commonly the product of professional ballad-writers, yet occasionally of authors of good literary repute; in some cases they were written by sailors who had themselves taken part in the events described. Piracy was a favorite theme of ballad-writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A collection of British naval ballads, published in 1908,¹ contains a considerable number of special interest to us. There are several relating to the American Revolution, including two on the defeat of the British at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1776, and one on Paul Jones, of which there is another version in the Thomas collection. There are several also, in this English book, on the War of 1812, among them one of the best of our songs on the *Constitution* and *Guerriere*,² and following it one on the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon* in the same metre and evidently intended as an answer to the first.

Crude as most of these broadside ballads are, they

¹Firth, "Naval Songs and Ballads" (Publications of the Navy Records Society, Vol. XXXIII), 244-248, 259, 308-315.

²"It ofttimes has been told."



THE AMERICAN
CONSTITUTION FRIGATE'S
 ENGAGEMENT WITH THE BRITISH FRIGATE GUERRIERE,

Which after an Action of 25 Minutes, Surrendered, and being completely Shattered, was blown up, it being impossible to get her into port.

COME jolly lads, ye hearts of gold,
 Come fill your cans and glasses,
 Be fun the order of the day,
 'A health to all our lasses.
*Yankee doodle keep it up,
 Yankee doodle dandy,
 As hot as British folks can sup,
 We'll give it to 'em handy.*

The Constitution long shall be
 The glory of our Navy,
 For when she grapples with a foe,
 She sends her to old Davy.
*Yankee doodle keep it up,
 Yankee doodle dandy,
 We'll let the British know that we
 At fighting are quite handy.*

Not long ago Five British Ships
 Unto her gave a chase sir,
 But spite of all their quips and cranks
 She beat 'em in the race, sir.
*Yankee doodle, keep it up,
 Yankee doodle dandy,
 Though ten to one, the Yankee boys
 At fighting are quite handy.*

At length the British ship *Guerriere*,
 Quite proudly came across her,
 And *Dacres* said, in half an hour,
 In air he'd surely toss her.
*Yankee doodle, keep it up,
 Yankee doodle dandy,
 He counted chickens ere they hatch'd,
 Because the eggs were handy.*

But soon, alas! poor *Dacres* found
 That he was quite mistaken,
 And thought he got himself well off,
 By saving of his Bacon.
*Yankee doodle, keep it up,
 Yankee doodle dandy,
 The Yankee boys for fighting fun,
 Are always quick and handy.*

And now begun the bloody fray,
 The balls flew thick and hot sir,
 In half an hour the job was done,
 The *Guerriere* went to pot sir.
*Yankee doodle, keep it up,
 Yankee doodle dandy,
 The British didn't like the fun,
 And quit soon as 'twas handy.*

Now here's a health to *CAPTAIN HULL*,
 And all his noble crew sirs,
 And should he choose to fight again,
 His lads will see him through sirs.
*Yankee doodle, keep it up,
 Yankee doodle dandy,
 For ridding British ships I'm sure,
 Brave *HULL* is quite the dandy.*

Now safe in Boston port we're moor'd,
 Our girls with smiles shall meet us,
 And every true American,
 With loud huzzas shall greet us.
*Yankee doodle, keep it up,
 Yankee doodle dandy,
 Our brave commander now we'll toast,
 In punch, and wine, and brandy.*

must have stirred the emotions of the common people. The exaltation peculiar to a state of war and the awakened spirit of patriotism upon receipt of the tidings of victory were translated by the ballad-writers into verse. The War of 1812 was unpopular in New England—of that there is ample evidence. Yet in their hearts the people were true to their country. Perhaps many descendents of Federalists now regret the stand taken by their forebears. At any rate, whatever the predominant political sentiment may have been, the New England of that day was a maritime community. The Navy was largely manned by Yankee seamen; naval exploits and sea adventure appealed to the popular imagination.

After his capture of the *Guerriere* in the summer of 1812, the first important victory of the war, Captain Isaac Hull, returning to port, "reached Boston on August thirtieth, entered the lower harbor, and dropped anchor off the light-house. . . . When the people learned that the *Constitution* with Dacres and his crew was below, they could not restrain their joy, though the day was the Sabbath. . . . As Federalists they could not forget that it was a Federalist Congress and a Federalist President that established the navy; that Federalists had always been its steady friends and staunch defenders; that it had long been their boast that in the hour of trial the 'wooden walls of Columbia' would prove the bulwark of the nation; and now, when the hour of trial had come and a frigate built by Yankee shipwrights in a Boston shipyard and commanded by a Yankee captain had more than made that boast good, they could not find expression for their gratitude . . . On Monday, when Hull brought the *Constitution* up the bay, he was given, a reception the like of which Boston had not yet accorded to any man."¹

The "Columbian Centinel" was a strong Federalist paper and upon learning of the declaration of war against England in June, 1812, had exclaimed: "The

¹McMaster, "History of the People of the United States," IV, 76,77.

awful event so often anticipated by us as the inevitable effect of the infatuated policy of the Rulers of the American People has now been realized." On Wednesday, September 2, the "Centinel" thus recorded Captain Hull's arrival: "On Monday morning the *Constitution* came up to town and was welcomed and honored by a federal salute from the Washington Artillery under Capt. Harris and by the hearty, unanimous, and repeated cheers of the citizens on the wharves, the shipping, and housetops." A dinner was given in Hull's honor at Faneuil Hall, Saturday, September 5. The streets and shipping were decorated with bunting and the captain was escorted to the hall, says the "Centinel," by a procession of "about five hundred of the most respectable citizens of both parties." Among those present and taking an active part in honoring the guest were John Adams, Christopher Gore, Josiah Quincy, President Kirkland of Harvard College, Harrison Gray Otis, and the judges of the Federal and State courts. An ode written for the occasion by another Federalist, Lucius Manlius Sargent, was sung."¹

Two historians of the Adams family have recalled the events of this momentous episode. Henry Adams says: "No experience of history ever went to the heart of New England more directly than this victory, so peculiarly its own; but the delight was not confined to New England, and extreme though it seemed it was still not extravagant, for however small the affair might appear on the general scale of the world's battles, it raised the United States in one half-hour to the rank of a first-class Power in the world."² Charles Francis Adams, in a paper read before the American Historical Association in 1912, speaks of "the intense feeling" which "found utterance in every form of shouting and tumult. There was, too, sufficing occasion for it all.

¹"Columbian Centinel," June 24, Sept. 2 and 9, 1812.

²"History of the United States," VI, 375.

Its sense of self-respect had suddenly been restored to a people."¹

Six months later there was further cause for rejoicing in Boston when the same good frigate came home after another cruise. The "Columbian Centinel" for Wednesday, March 3, 1813, relates that "Yesterday a splendid Public Dinner was given in the Exchange Coffee House to Commodore Bainbridge and the officers of the U. States frigate *Constitution*, for their gallant achievement in the capture of the British first rate frigate *Java*." This event had taken place December 29, 1812. The Hon. Christopher Gore presided at the dinner and the paper, giving a list of those present, including the most prominent Federalists, goes on: "After naming the above gentlemen, it is unnecessary to say the toasts and sentiments were appropriate, independent, and American." An ode for the occasion was provided, as before, by Lucius Manlius Sargent. Both branches of the Legislature, the House of Representatives by unanimous vote, passed resolutions expressing the thanks and appreciation of the Commonwealth to Commodore Bainbridge and other naval commanders.²

In the fall of the same year came the tidings of Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie. "The people of Boston, in mass meeting assembled, voted a sword. The *Constitution* honored him with a salute. Both parties claimed him as their own. He became the toast of the hour at innumerable Democratic festivals held to celebrate 'the triumph of the American arms over their enemies,' and the chief theme of scores of naval songs, odes, verses, and impromptu lines."³

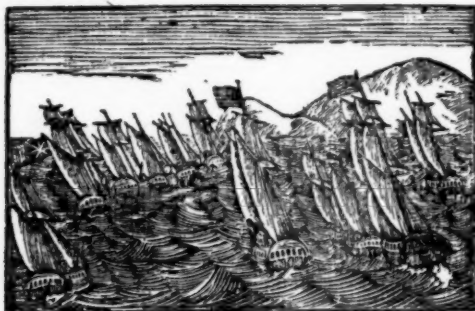
It would thus appear that Federalists' hearts were

¹"Amer. Hist. Review," XVIII (April 1913), 520.

²Harris, "Life of Commodore William Bainbridge," 166-168. A number of Boston playbills, during the winter of 1812-1813, announced short sketches called "Patriotic Effusions," to follow the principal play. They commemorated the recent victories and seem to have chiefly consisted in the singing of naval and patriotic ballads.

³McMaster, "History of the People of the United States," IV, 38.

BRILLIANT NAVAL VICTORY.



Yankee PERRY, better than Old English CIDER.

"TUNE---THREE YANKEE PIGEONS."

HUZZA ! for the brave Yankee boys,
 Who touch'd up John Bull on lake Erie,
 Who gave 'em a taste of our toys,
 From the fleet of brave Commodore Perry.
 They were not made of 'lasses but lead,
 And good solid lumps of cold iron ;
 When they hit JOHNNY BULL on the head,
 They gave him a pain that he'll die on.
Rumpti idite, I,
Rumpti I, ti idite,
Ri tol, ol, de rot, lol,
Our tight little navy forever.

Now the *Niagara* bore down,
 To give 'em a bit of a whacking,
 The *Lawrence* came up and wore round,
 And set her nine pounders a cracking.
 They soon felt the *Scorpion's* sting,
 And likewise the *Ariel's* thunder ;
 The *Porcupine* give 'em a quill,
 And made the *Queen Charlotte* knock under.
Rumpti, idite, &c.

The *Somers* now gave 'em a touch,
 And the *Tygress* she gave 'em a shock sir,
 Which did not divert Johnny much,
 For it put him in mind of the **BOXER**.
 The *Trippe* she was hammering away,
 The *Ohio* soon made 'em smell powder,

* The brave *Caledonia* that day
 * Made her thunder grow louder and louder
 * *Rumpti, idite, &c.*

* We gave 'em such tough Yankee blows,
 * That soon they thought fit to surrender ;
 * That day made 'em feel that their foes,
 * Were made in the masculine gender.
 * Poor Johnny was sick of the gripes,
 * From the pills that we gave them at **ENS**,
 * And for fear of the stars and the stripes,
 * He struck to brave Commodore PERRY.
 * *Rumpti, idite, &c.*

* Now as for poor old Johnny Bull,
 * If we meet him on land or at Sea sir,
 * We'll give him a good belly full,
 * Of excellent gun powder tea sir.
 * Huzza ! for our brave Yankee Tars,
 * Who pepper'd the British so merry,
 * Who fought for the stripes and the stars,
 * Under brave Commodore PERRY.
 * *Rumpti, idite, &c.*

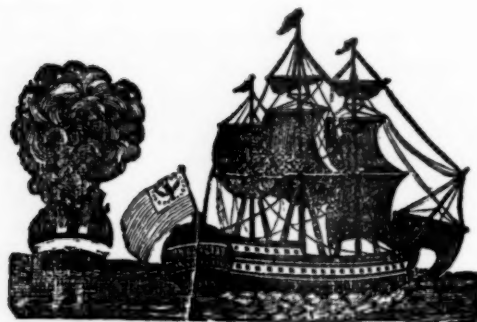
* England is fam'd for perry and beer,
 * Which quickly bewilders the brain, sir,
 * But such PERRY as she's taken here,
 * She never will wish for again, sir.

stirred by these feats of naval arms and that the songs and ballads inspired by repeated victories were the spontaneous utterance of genuine feeling rather than propaganda instigated by Anti-Federalists for the purpose of influencing public opinion.

Nearly forty of the naval ballads in the Thomas collection, so far as a somewhat careful search would indicate, have never been reprinted from the original broadsides, unless some of them might be discovered in contemporary newspapers. This would not remove their ephemeral character. It is believed, at least, that they are not to be found in the popular song-books published since that day.¹

The naval and patriotic song-books published during the War of 1812 and subsequently, down to the period of the Civil War, form an interesting series. Most of them are small volumes. Some are well printed on the best paper; in others the workmanship is poor and the general appearance coarse and cheap. The average of literary merit in the best of these publications, notably in Holland's little book, is superior to the broadside poems, while in the case of the poorer specimens there is little to choose between the two forms of printing. Doggerel naval rhymes, in these cheap books, are scattered among a larger number of sentimental ballads on all sorts of subjects and of a style of versification suited to the most indiscriminating taste.

¹The following have been examined: "Odes, Naval Songs, and other Occasional Poems" By Edwin C. Holland. Charleston, S. C., 1813; "The Columbian Naval Melody." Boston, 1813; "The Columbian Naval Songster." Compiled by Edward Gillespy. New York, 1813; "Columbia's Naval Triumphs." New York, 1813; "The American Muse: or Songster's Companion." New York, 1814; "American Patriotic and Comic Modern Songs commemorative of Naval Victories, etc." Newburyport, 1814; "The American Song Book." New York and Boston, 1815; "The Naval Songster." Charlestown, 1815; "The Naval Temple," Boston, 1816; "The American Star." Richmond, 1817; "Songs: Naval, Patriotic, and Miscellaneous," New York, 1818; "The American Songster." New York, n. d.; "American Naval and Patriotic Songster." Baltimore, 1836; "The Sailor's Song Book." By Uncle Sam. Boston, 1842; "Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution." By Frank Moore. New York, 1856; "Poems relating to the American Revolution." By Philip Freneau. New York, 1865; "American War Ballads and Lyrics." Edited by G. C. Eggleston. New York, 1889; "Naval Songs." Compiled by Admiral S. B. Luce. New York, 1902; also the "Analectic Magazine" and the "Port Folio," 1813-1816. Special acknowledgment is due to the Brown University Library and the Library of Congress for sending rare books for examination.



BAINBRIDGE'S VICTORY :

OR

HUZZA FOR THE CONSTITUTION, ONCE MORE !

Engagement between the UNITED STATES Frigate CONSTITUTION, and the BRITISH Frigate JAVA

WHEN our good Constitution was last moor'd in port,
 After having a round of American sport ;
 After shewing the British we never knew fear,
 And dispatching to Davy proud Madam Goerriero,
CHORUS.
*Our cans with good liquor were flowing quite full,
 And we toss'd off a health to the brave Captain Hull.*

We sung and we frolick'd with humer and glee,
 Our MONY we spent like true lads of the sea ;
 And when we were tird of rambling on sho.e,
 We merrily went to the ocean for more.
*Our cans with good liquor were flowing quite full,
 And we toss'd off a health to the brave Captain Hull.*

Our captain so brave to another gave place,
 And BAINBRIDGE the noble, now join'd in the chace,
 As gallant a hero as e'er took his turn,
 Or stepp'd on our frigate between stem and stern.
*So our cans with good liquor were flowing quite full,
 And we toss'd off a health unto Bainbridge and Hull.*

Now sailing the ocean we heard of the fray,
 Which the Wasp and the Frolic box'd out 'tother day,
 While full peals of joy round our Frigate now rang,
 And the praise of the heroes each jolly tar sung.
*So our cans with good liquor were flowing quite full,
 And a health we toss'd off to brave Jones and brave Hull.*

Not many days pass'd ere further good news,
 Come whistling thro' port-holes to true yankee bliss,

For we heard that DECATUR, the noble and brave,
 Had the fam'd Macedonian beat on the wave.
*So our cans with good liquor were flowing quite full,
 And we toss'd off to Jones and Decatur and Hull.*

But now it was thought by each jolly bold heart,
 That 'twas time for our Frigate to play her next part,
 So be sure while we traverr'd the ocean about,
 The men at mast-head kept the sharpest look-out.
*So our cans we toss'd off with good liquor quite full,
 To Bainbridge, and Jones, and Decatur, and Hull.*

At length through the wave as she plow'd in her pride,
 The JAVA our seamen exultingly spied,
 And as usual, all strangers to cowardly fear,
 To the brass-fac'd hu-sey, we quickly drew near.
*So our cans with good liquor were flowing quite full,
 To Bainbridge, and Jones, and Decatur, and Hull.*

And now did our bull-dogs most merrily bark,
 Sure Miss JAVA ne'er met such a deuced rough spark ;
 For we tore her fine rigging, and cut up her dree,
 Till she'd not a spar standing her carcase to blea.
*So our cans we toss'd off with good liquor quite full,
 To Bainbridge, and Jones, and Decatur, and Hull.*

Now the battle was done, as if she wish'd for no more,
 For her decks were all cover'd with corpses and gore,
 So their ren-cross the Britons were glad to haul down,
 And to yield to Co'umbia their naval renown.
*So our cans we toss'd off with good liquor quite full,
 To Bainbridge, and Jones, and Decatur, and Hull.*

The Revolution is represented in the Thomas collection by two ballads, both of which have been repeatedly reprinted. "Paul Jones's Victory," written in 1813, has appeared in several versions, of which this is perhaps the original. It begins: "An American frigate, a frigate of fame." The "Battle of the Kegs," by Francis Hopkinson, is a humorous account of the attempt of David Bushnell, in December 1777, to blow up the British fleet in the Delaware River by floating torpedoes in the form of kegs filled with gunpowder and set adrift up the river on the ebb tide.

The capture of the French frigate *L'Insurgente* by Captain Truxtun in the *Constellation* in 1799 is the theme of two songs, while another tells of the engagement between the *Boston* and *Berceau* in 1800. Belonging chronologically in the same period are "The Siege of Tripoli" and "Sterret's Sea Fight" with a Tripolitan polacca, the latter printed on the same broadside with "Paul Jones's Victory."

Coming to the War of 1812, the popularity of Commodore Rodgers is noticeable. Although fortune never allowed him the opportunity of engaging a British frigate, his ship, the *President*, did good service and his praises are sung in seven of these ballads. The *Constitution's* fights with the enemy's frigates also form the subjects of seven poems in this collection, four of them concerning the *Guerriere* and three the *Java*. Four ballads tell of the Battle of Lake Erie, three of the famous action between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*, and two of the capture of the British frigate *Macedonian* by Decatur in the *United States*. The early date at which the Thomas collection was made, August 1814, accounts for the absence of poems relating to the Battle of Lake Champlain and the last great exploit of the *Constitution* when, in February, 1815, she took the British ships *Cyane* and *Levant* in a single engagement. We miss also a number of the later sloop actions. Of this latter class of events the contests of the *Wasp* and *Frolic*, the *Hornet* and *Pea-*



BRILLIANT VICTORY,

Obtained by Commodore DECATUR, of the "UNITED STATES," Frigate, over the British Frigate "MACEDONIAN." Commanded by Capt. Carden, which battle was decided in 17 minutes.

Hark how the church-bell's thundering harmony
Stuns the glad ear!—Tidings of joy have come—
Good tidings of great joy!—Two gallant ships
Met on the element.—they fought
A desperate fight.—Good tidings of great joy!
They fought a desperate fight.—The American guns
Plough'd up the hostile deck.—they shatter'd her,
Columbia's sons have triumph'd.

... And mark amidst the splendid band
That guards Columbia's boundless strand,
The youthful hero of the wave,
DECATUR, bravest of the brave!

COLUMBIA'S streamers sweep the main,
To let the Britons know,
We boldly will our rights maintain,
And make the Lion bow.

Our HULL'S withstand the cannon's roar,
DECATUR rules the main,
Above our rights they must not soar,
But treat for Peace again.

Once more the glorious tidings come,
Of triumph to our arms:
Columbia's sons are all at home,
When foes excite alarms.

No fears are theirs, when danger's near,
But cool and brave they are,
They love to see a foe appear,
For guns their souls can't scare.

Our country has not yet forgot,
DECATUR'S deeds of old,
One laurel more he now has got,
Of greater worth than gold,

Our CONSTITUTION yet is sound,
So may it ever be!
UNITED STATES now keep their ground,
Both on the land and sea.

Not only Frigates are destroy'd,
And men kill'd off like fleas,
But "MACEDONIANS" are annoy'd
And driven from the seas.

What fools the British all must be,
To think we shoud'at beat,

When from their yoke we once got free,
By what we now repeat.

The MACEDONIANS crew I guess,
Wish they'd never seen,
That plucky ship, they meant to press,
Just as they do our men.

For we have taught them what our guns
When loaded well can do,
And made them feel Columbia's sons
Know how to load them too.

But there's no rose without its thorn,
No sweet without its sour,
So even now we have to mourn
In this triumphant hour.

For see! that fatal shaft is wing'd
With death for gallant FURK,
Swift through the air the bullets ring'd
And quench'd his fire and spunk.

Arise, Columbia's sons, arise,
And joyfully maintain
Though many noble sailor dies,
That we'll not quit the main.

Let *Jonny Bull* no longer boast,
He lords it o'er the seas,
We'll make his blood-hounds leave the coast,
When they our cannons see.

The GUERRIERS brave Hull has marr'd,
And laid her streamers low,
Our WASP has stung the FROLIC hard,
And thus our laurels grow

cock, and the *Enterprise* and *Boxer* are each celebrated in one ballad. Four songs deal with the adventures of privateersmen. A dozen or more are of a miscellaneous character, either concerned with affairs of minor importance or more nautical, or political, than strictly naval. One of these, with a good, swinging metre, is called "America, Commerce and Freedom" and begins: "How blest a life a sailor leads."

How many of these ballads were set to music and sung on public or social occasions is disclosed by evidence appearing on the broadsides in less than half the number; but it seems probable that most of them, and perhaps nearly all, were so employed during the period of their greatest popularity.

Some verses selected from these naval songs and ballads, virtually lost to the world as they are, will illustrate the general character of this sort of literature. Of the several ballads and songs commemorating the first capture of a British frigate, one bears the title: "CAPTAIN HULL'S VICTORY. Captain Hull, Commander of the Frigate *Constitution*, took after a short engagement, the British Frigate *Guerriere*, mounting 49 guns." Of the twelve verses of this poem we may quote the first and two later ones:

Ye brave seamen all, where'ere you be,
Come hear of a battle late fought on the sea,
To all true friends to our country we greet,
Like us, may you beat all foes that you meet.

Ev'ry shot that we fir'd did very well tell,
Their masts shot away and overboard fell;
Their firing then ceas'd, no longer could fight,
In forty minutes time were put in this plight.

To us they did strike, her colours pull'd down,
Captain Dacres was beat he fairly did own.
Her decks they presented a horrible sight,
Fifteen brave seamen was killed outright.

.

James Campbell, a boatswain's mate on the *Constitution*, wrote "A NEW SONG," in nine verses and chorus commemorating the same battle:

Come all ye yankee heroes, come listen to my song,
I'll tell you of a bloody fight before that it be long,
It was of the CONSTITUTION from Boston she set sail,
To cruise along the coast, my boys, our rights for to maintain.
*So come rouze ye yankee tars, let it never be said,
That the sons of America should ever be afraid.*

.....
We had laid along-side thirty minutes or little more,
When the blood from the scuppers in a scarlet stream did pour,
We engag'd them full hot, my boys, and made them quake for
fear,
And when her yards and masts came down, she prov'd the
Guerriere.

*Now come rouze ye yankee boys, united let us be,
Resolved to fight or perish, for the rights of America.*

.....
Now to conclude, my boys, and finish with my song,
I was a boatswain's mate, unto said ship I do belong,
I wrote these lines to let you know how yankees they can fight,
When their officers give command, and men of courage bright.
*Come rouze ye yankee tars, firm united let us be,
Resolv'd to fight and conquer for the rights of America.*

Campbell narrated the next great exploit of his beloved ship in fifteen verses, under the heading: "GLORIOUS NAVAL VICTORY, OBTAINED BY COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE, OF THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE CONSTITUTION, OVER HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S FRIGATE JAVA."

Come listen to my story the truth I will unfold,
Concerning of a frigate, she was man'd with hearts of gold,
We took a cruize from Boston, as you shall understand,
For to maintain the freedom of our own native land.

.....
It was at two o'clock the bloody fray begun,
Each hardy tar and son of Mars was active at his gun,

Until their fore and mizen-mast was fairly shot away,
And with redoubled courage, we gave them three huzzas.

Two hours and three quarters, we engaged very hot,
Until one hundred and four poor Britons lay dead upon the spot,
Which made them think the Yankees could shew them fair
play,
And made them strike the union, on the close of that great
day.

Another broadside tells in ten verses of the first sloop
action of the war, and is entitled: "WASP STING-
ING FROLICK, or *Engagement between the American
Sloop of War WASP of 18 guns, and the British Sloop of
War FROLICK, of 20 guns.*" The Wasp was commanded
by Captain Jacob Jones and the battle was fought
October 18, 1812. The ballad begins:

A fine little sloop from the Delaware came,
To cruise on the seas, and the *Wasp* was her name.
With a noble commander, who fear'd not the foe,
And a crew who'd stand fast, let it blow high or low.

CHORUS

*Then fill up your glasses, let's laugh, drink, and sing
And toast the brave Wasp, which the British did sting.*

Then broadside and broadside, full at it they went,
The WASP stung the FROLICK unto her content,
Till dismasted and shatter'd, quite passive she lay,
And found with reluctance, the devil to pay.

From the deck of the *Wasp* five seamen so brave,
With sorrow were launch'd to a watery grave,
But their comrads so bold, had the pleasure to know,
That sixty poor Britons went with them below.

Ten verses likewise relate the story of the next sloop
contest, February 24, 1813. "THE PEACOCK STUNG

BY THE HORNET, or. *Engagement between the United States Ship HORNET, Captain LAWRENCE, of 16 Guns, and his Britannic Majesty's Brig PEACOCK, Captain PEAKE, of 19 Guns.*"

.

And now o'er ocean's heaving breast,
 Encircled with her sea-green vest,
 The gallant HORNET plows the main,
 Columbia's freedom to maintain.
*For courage fires each noble tar,
 And honor loudly calls to war.*

But see! the foe now heaves in sight,
 To quarters quick the seamen run,
 Each heart beats high for glory's fight,
 Firm stands each hero to his gun.
*And honor prompts each noble tar,
 To thunder in the watery war.*

.

We may conclude with a verse from a broadside celebrating one of our brilliant fleet actions, September 10, 1813. "EIGHTH NAVAL VICTORY: LINES, *Composed on the Capture of his Britannic Majesty's Squadron on LAKE ERIE, by Commodore PERRY. Columbia's Ships triumphant ride, And humble haughty Briton's Pride.*"

.

With boldness Perry strides the Lakes,
 His Foe in daring Combat stakes,
 While courage aids his bold design,
 He breaks the British Squadron's Line,
 His cannon makes Queen Charlotte crack,
 And lays her prostrate on her back.
 The humbled flags of British pride,
 No more around Lake Erie ride.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1690-1820

PART XVII: TENNESSEE AND VERMONT

COMPILED BY CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

The following bibliography attempts, first, to present an historical sketch of every newspaper printed in the United States from 1690 to 1820; secondly, to locate all files found in the various libraries of the country; and thirdly, to give a complete check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

The historical sketch of each paper gives the title, the date of establishment, the name of the editor or publisher, the frequency of issue and the date of discontinuance. It also attempts to give the exact date of issue when a change in title or name of publisher or frequency of publication occurs.

In locating files to be found in various libraries, no attempt is made to list every issue. In the case of common papers which are to be found in many libraries, only the longer files are noted, with a description of their completeness. Rare newspapers, which are known by only a few scattered issues, are minutely listed.

The check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society follows the style of the Library of Congress "Check List of Eighteenth Century Newspapers," and records all supplements, missing issues and mutilations.

The arrangement is alphabetical by States and towns. Towns are placed according to their present State location. For convenience of alphabetization, the initial "The" in the titles of papers is disregarded. Papers are considered to be of folio size, unless otherwise stated. There are no abbreviations except in the names of the libraries where files are located, and

these should be easily understood. A superior italic "m" is used in the listing of the Society's files to signify mutilated copy. The bibliography includes only newspapers, and does not list magazines; the distinction has sometimes been difficult to draw, but the test has generally been the inclusion of current news. Neither in the historical sketches nor in the listing of files is any account taken of the existence of the paper after 1820.

All files, except in a few instances, have been personally examined by the compiler of this list, and the facts stated have been drawn from an inspection of the papers themselves and not based on secondary authorities.

The bibliography will be published in the Proceedings in eighteen installments, after which the material will be gathered into a volume, with an historical introduction, acknowledgment of assistance rendered, and a comprehensive index of titles and names of printers. Reprints of each installment will not be made, nor will the names of papers or printers be indexed in the Proceedings. The compiler will welcome additions and corrections.

TENNESSEE

Carthage Gazette, 1808-1819.

Weekly. Established Aug. 13, 1808, by William Moore, with the title of "Carthage Gazette; and Friend of the People." James Lyon, according to an announcement in the issue of Jan. 26, 1809 was the editor and so remained certainly until late in 1811. With the issue of Mar. 16, 1810, the title was shortened to "Carthage Gazette." In either May or June 1812, Moore took John B. Hood into partnership under the firm name of Moore & Hood. On Dec. 12, 1812, this partnership was dissolved, and the paper was published for William Moore by X[enophon] J. Gaines. With the issue of Nov. 3, 1814, James G. Roulstone became a partner, under the firm name of Moore & Roulstone. At some time between Aug. 27, 1816 and July 1, 1817, the firm name became Roulstone & Ford. The issue of July 1, 1817, vol. 8, no. 31, is the last located. The paper is referred to in "The Nashville Gazette" of Aug. 28, 1819.

Chicago Hist. Soc. has Mar. 16, 23, 1810; Nov. 2, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1808. Aug. 13.
 Sept. 10, 19.
 Supplement: Sept. 19.
1809. Jan. 26, 30.
 Feb. 5, 13, 20.
 Mar. 6, 13.
 Apr. 3, 10.
 May 11, 25, 31.
 June 8, 15, 29.
 Aug. 17.
 Sept. 1, 16.
 Oct. 13.
 Nov. 17.
 Dec. 15.
1810. Jan. 12.
 Feb. 9.

- Mar. 16, 23, 30.
 May 4, 25.
 June 1, 8, 15, 29.
 July 6, 20, 27.
 Aug. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
 Sept. 21.
 Oct. 19.
 Nov. 2.
 Dec. 6, 13.
 1811. Mar. 8, 22.
 Apr. 5, 12, 18, 25.
 June 5, 11, 19.
 July 17, 24.
 Aug. 7, 21, 28.
 Sept. 4.
 Oct. 2, 16.
 Nov. 9, 16.
 Dec. 7, 14, 21.
 1812. Jan. 18, 25.
 Feb. 8.
 Mar. 14.
 Apr. 1, 8, 29.
 July 8, 11, 18.
 1813. Feb. 12.
 Mar. 26.
 Apr. 23.
 May 28.
 June 4.
 July 2, 23.
 Aug. 6, 13, 20.
 Sept. 3, 17, 24.
 Oct. 1, 8, 15, 30^m.
 Dec. 4, 18.
 1814. Jan. 8, 15, 22.
 Apr. 9, 23.
 May 14.
 Nov. 3.
 Dec. 2.
 1815. Apr. 14.

- May 19, 26.
 June 9, 16.
 Aug. 22, 29.
 Sept. 19.
 Oct. 10, 17, 31.
 1816. May 14, 21.
 July 9.
 Aug. 20.
 1817. July 1.

[Carthage] Western Express, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established Sept. 26, 1808, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Nov. 21, 1808, vol. 1, no. 9, published by Samuel Miller, with the title of "Western Express." There are references to the paper in the "Carthage Gazette" early in 1809.

A. A. S. has:

1808. Nov. 21.

Clarksville Gazette, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established in May 1819, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 4, 1819, vol. 1, no. 21, published by John Fitzgerald, with the title of "Clarksville Gazette." With the issue of Jan. 29, 1820, the paper was purchased and published by M'Lean & Shannon [Charles D. M'Lean and Thomas S. Shannon]. Early in March 1820, the imprint was changed to Thomas S. Shannon & Co., although M'Lean evidently was in the partnership. On Dec. 16, 1820 the partnership of M'Lean and Shannon was dissolved, and C. D. M'Lean became sole publisher, continuing the paper after 1820.

Lib. Congress has Oct. 4, Nov. 21, 27, 1819; Jan. 8, 15, 29, Feb. 5, 19, Mar. 11-Apr. 29, May 13-June 3, 17, July 1-29, Aug. 12-26, Sept. 8-30, Oct. 14, 21, Nov. 25, Dec. 23, 1820.

[Clarksville] Recorder, 1814-1815.

Weekly. Established Sept. 15, 1814, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Dec. 15, 1814, vol. 1, no. 14, published by George Crutcher, with

the title of "The Recorder." In the "History of Tennessee," Montgomery County, 1886, p. 817, mention is made of *The Clarksville Recorder* of July 27, 1815, vol. 1, no. 45, published by Crutcher & M'Lean, evidently Charles D. M'Lean.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 15, 1814.

[Clarksville] Tennessee Weekly Chronicle, 1819.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Weekly Chronicle." The earliest issue located with the title of "The Tennessee Weekly Chronicle" is that of Jan. 27, 1819, vol. 7, no. 84, published by B[urrel] H. Peeples. Peeples died in February 1819, and with the issue of Mar. 6, 1819, the paper was published by T[homas] H. M'Keen, for the benefit of the estate of the late B. H. Peeples. With May 24, 1819, Th. H. M'Keen became sole publisher. The last issue with this title was that of June 28, 1819, vol. 6, no. 104, the volume numbering having been changed from vol. 7 to vol. 6 earlier in the year. The title was then changed to "Town Gazette," which see.

Lib. Congress has Jan. 27, Feb. 3, Mar. 6, 15-June 7, 1819.

[Clarksville] Town Gazette, 1819.

Weekly. Established July 5, 1819, by Thomas H. M'Keen, with the title of "Town Gazette & Farmers Register," succeeding his other paper "The Tennessee Weekly Chronicle" and continuing the advertisements, but starting a new volume numbering. The last issue was that of Nov. 8, 1819, vol. 1, no. 18, when the paper was disposed of to John Fitzgerald, who was publishing the "Clarksville Gazette."

Lib. Congress has July 5-Sept. 20, Oct. 11-Nov. 8, 1819.

[Clarksville] United States Herald, 1810.

Weekly. Established in July 1810, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Aug. 11,

1810, vol. 1, no. 5, published by Theoderick F. Bradford, with the title of "United States Herald."

A. A. S. has:

1810. Aug. 11.

[Clarksville] Weekly Chronicle, 1815-1818.

Weekly. Established in 1815, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 18, 1818, vol. 4, "of the new series no. 37," published by Burrell H. Peeples, with the title of "The Weekly Chronicle." This issue contains an advertisement dated Feb. 12, 1818, of the dissolution of the firm of Heydon E. Well and B. H. Peeples. The last issue located with this title is that of Sept. 16, 1818, vol. 4, no. 67, after which the title was changed to "The Tennessee Weekly Chronicle," which see.

Lib. Congress has Feb. 18, Mar. 11-25, Apr. 8, May 13, July 22, Aug. 12, 26, Sept. 9, 16, 1818.

[Columbia] Chronicle, see Western Chronicle.

Columbia Review, 1819-1820+.

In "The Nashville Gazette" of July 7, 1819, is printed the prospectus of "The Columbia Review," a weekly newspaper to be published by J[ames] Walker & A[] C. Hays. The publishers state that they have each conducted a paper previously at Columbia for many years. In "The Nashville Gazette" of Aug. 28, 1819, is a quotation from the Columbia Review, showing that it was established. No copy located. In the Library of Congress is a copy of "The Columbian" of Apr. 21, 1825, vol. 7, no. 1.

[Columbia] Western Chronicle, 1810-1816.

Weekly. Established Nov. 17, 1810, by Eastin & Walker [Thomas Eastin and James Walker], with the title of "The Western Chronicle." Eastin left the paper, certainly by 1813. The only other issue located, besides that of Nov. 17, 1810, is that of Aug. 1, 1816, vol. 6, no. 297, published by James Walker, with the title changed to "The Chronicle."

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 17, 1810.

Lib. Congress has Aug. 1, 1816.

Franklin Monitor, 1819.

A paper with this title is referred to in the "Knoxville Register" of Apr. 13, 1819. The Nashville "Clarion" of Sept. 14, 1819, refers to the first number of the Texas Republican published by Eli Harris, "who some years ago published a newspaper in Franklin." No copies located.

[Gallatin] Tennessean, 1815.

In the "History of Tennessee," Sumner County, 1887, p. 817, it is stated that the first newspaper in Sumner County was The Tennessean, established about 1815 at Gallatin, by Wm. L. Barry. No copies located.

[Jonesborough] East-Tennessee Patriot, 1819-1820+.

The "Manumission Intelligencer," was printed by J[acob] Howard, on the press of the "East-Tennessee Patriot" in 1819-1820. There is a reference to this paper in "The Emancipator" of July 31, 1820, p. 59, which was also printed by J. Howard. In the "Knoxville Register" of Dec. 28, 1819, is recorded the marriage of Jacob Howard, editor of "East Tennessee Patriot." No copies located.

[Jonesborough] Manumission Intelligencer, 1819-1820.

Weekly. Established in March 1819 by Elihu Embree, with the title of "Manumission Intelligencer," and printed by J. Howard. In April 1820 it was discontinued as a newspaper, to be replaced by an octavo monthly called "The Emancipator." It was devoted especially to the repression of slavery. Copies were to be found in private possession over forty years ago, but none are now located (see "Mississippi Valley Historical Review," 1916, vol. 2, p. 515).

[Jonesborough] Washington Newspaper, 1801-1804.

Weekly. Established in October 1801, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 5, 1803, vol. 3, no. 108, published by George Wilson, with the title

"Washington Newspaper and Advertiser." The last issue located is that of Feb. 15, 1804, vol. 3, no. 120.

Lib. Congress has Nov. 5, Dec. 9, 1803.

Univ. of Chicago has Feb. 1, 15, 1804.

Knoxville Gazette, 1791-1798, 1799, 1801-1808.

Bi-weekly and weekly. Established Nov. 5, 1791, by Roulstone & Ferguson [George Roulstone and Robert Ferguson], with the title of "The Knoxville Gazette," published every two weeks. The word "The" was omitted from the title with the issue of July 14, 1792. The paper was at first printed at Rogersville, about fifty miles from Knoxville, but was removed to Knoxville with the issue of Oct. 6, 1792, that town having been laid out the preceding year. With the issue of May 4, 1793, Ferguson retired and the paper was published by George Roulstone & Co., and with Feb. 27, 1795 by George Roulstone alone. In April 1796 the title reverted to "The Knoxville Gazette." The issue of Aug. 1, 1796, is numbered vol. 5, no. 12, and is the last located of the bi-weekly series. The next issue located, that of Nov. 7, 1796, no. 2, published by George Roulstone, with the title of "Knoxville Gazette, and Weekly Advertiser," shows that a new series was started with the new title and published weekly. With the issue of Nov. 14, 1796, the title was changed to "Roulstone's Knoxville Gazette, and Weekly Advertiser." The last issue located with this title was that of June 19, 1797, no. 34. The paper was apparently succeeded in June 1798 by "The Knoxville Register," which see.

On July 3, 1799 the "Knoxville Gazette" was revived under that title by George Roulstone, judging from the date of the issue of Aug. 7, 1799, vol. 1, no. 6. But on Aug. 28, 1799 the paper was consolidated with the "Impartial Observer," which see.

In November 1800, the "Impartial Observer" was discontinued under that title, and George Roulstone resumed the "Knoxville Gazette," without change of volume numbering. The issue of Jan. 7, 1801 was vol. 2, no. 67. The paper was so continued until Roulstone's death in 1804.

The issue of Nov. 13, 1807, vol. 3, no. 12, printed for William Moore, who married Roulstone's widow, would show that a new series was started in August 1805. William Moore in the "Carthage Gazette" of Jan. 26, 1809, states that he removed with his press from Knoxville to Carthage in the late summer of 1808.

For "Wilson's Knoxville Gazette," later called the "Knoxville Gazette," see under "Wilson's Knoxville Gazette."

Tenn. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 5, 1791-July 31, 1795.

Lawson McGhee Lib., Knoxville, has May 22, 1795; Dec. 19, 1796-June 19, 1797; Oct. 31, 1803.

Lib. Congress has June 1, 15, 1793; Nov. 13, 1807.

Harvard has July 3, Oct. 23, Dec. 4, 18, 1795; Jan. 19, Mar. 2, 16, July 18, Aug. 1, Nov. 7-28, Dec. 5, 19, 1796; Jan. 16-30, Mar. 6-Apr. 10, 1797.

Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 2, Nov. 20, 1795; Jan. 19, Feb. 17, Mar. 2, 16, 1796.

Univ. of Chicago has Aug. 7, 1799; Jan. 7, Feb. 4-11, Mar. 11, May 6, Oct. 14-28, Nov. 11, 1801; Aug. 4, 1802; Jan. 26, Aug. 8, 1803.

A. A. S. has:

1793. Dec. 7.

1794. July 31.

1795. Apr. 24^m.

July 17.

Oct. 23.

Nov. 20.

Dec. 4.

1796. May 2.

Knoxville Gazette, 1808-1818, see Wilson's Knoxville Gazette.

[Knoxville] Genius of Liberty, see Knoxville Register, 1798.

[Knoxville] Impartial Observer, 1799-1800.

Weekly. In March 1799 George Wilson advertised proposals for a paper at Knoxville to be called "The Observer." No copies of Wilson's paper are known, but it evidently was issued in the summer of 1799, since on Aug. 28, 1799, the "Knoxville Gazette" was consolidated

with the "Impartial Observer" the title becoming "Impartial Observer," with the words "The Knoxville Gazette" in the center in smaller letters. The earliest issue so located is that of Sept. 11, 1799, vol. 1, no. 3, published by Roulstone & Wilson. The last issue located is that of Sept. 10, 1800, vol. 1, no. 52. The partnership was dissolved in November 1800, George Roulstone continuing the "Knoxville Gazette," and Wilson removing to Jonesborough.

Univ. of Chicago has Sept. 11, 1799; Mar. 26, Apr. 16-30, May 28-July 9, Aug. 12-27, Sept. 10, 1800.

Knoxville Intelligencer, 1820.

There is a reference to a paper with this title in the Jonesborough "Emancipator" of June 30, 1820, p. 48. In the "Knoxville Register" of Sept. 26, 1820, is a letter from John S. Ustick regarding his connection with the printing-office of P. Carey, of the Knoxville Intelligencer. No copies located.

Knoxville Register, 1798.

Weekly. Established June 12, 1798, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 14, 1798, vol. 1, no. 10, published by George Roulstone & John R. Parrington, with the title of "Knoxville Register." In smaller letters, on a shield in the center of the title, was a sub-title "The Genius of Liberty." Although this sub-title was comparatively unimportant, the paper was referred to, editorially and otherwise, as "The Genius of Liberty," and in the case of one issue, Aug. 21, 1798, when scarcity of paper caused publication in a small folio of three columns, the only title given was "The Genius of Liberty," taking the full width of the page. The last issue located with the title of "Knoxville Register" was that of Oct. 30, 1798, vol. 1, no. 21.

A. A. S. has:

1798. Aug. 14^m, 21, 28^m.

Sept. 4, 11^m, 18, 25.

Oct. 2, 9, 16^m, 23^m, 30^m.

Knoxville Register, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 3, 1816, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 10, 1816, vol. 1, no. 2, published by F[rederick] S. Heiskell & H[ugh] Brown, with the title of "The Knoxville Register." So continued until after 1820.

Lawson McGhee Lib., Knoxville, has Sept. 12, 1816-June 2, 1818; Nov. 24, 1818; Jan. 12-Feb. 9, June 1-Aug. 3, 1819; Feb. 29, 1820.

Lib. Congress has Feb. 3-July 7, Sept. 1, 1818-Dec. 26, 1820.

Univ. of Chicago has July 21, 1818; Mar. 16, 1819.

Boston Athenaeum has Mar. 28, 1820.

A. A. S. has:

- 1816. Aug. 10.
Sept. 7, 21.
Nov. 9, 23.
Dec. 14.
- 1817. Apr. 10, 17.
Sept. 4.
- 1819. Apr. 13.
May 4.

[Knoxville] Roulstone's Knoxville Gazette, 1796-1797, see Knoxville Gazette.

[Knoxville] Western Centinel, 1808-1810.

Weekly. Established in January 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Mar. 11, 1809, vol. 2, no. 11, published by John B. Hood, with the title of "Western Centinel." The paper was established by Hood & Walker, James Walker retiring from the firm under date of Mar. 11, 1809. The last issue located is that of Sept. 8, 1810, vol. 3, no. 37.

Lib. Congress has Jan. 27, 1810.

A. A. S. has:

- 1809. Mar. 11.
- 1810. June 30.
July 14.
Sept. 8^m.

[Knoxville] Wilson's Knoxville Gazette, 1804-1819.

Weekly. Established in November 1804, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 3, 1807, vol. 3, no. 7, published by George Wilson, with the title of "Wilson's Knoxville Gazette." The issue of Nov. 30, 1813, vol. 9, no. 49, is the last located with this title. Judging by a communication in the "Knoxville Register" of Nov. 23, 1816, Wilson formed a partnership with J. D. Grant in February 1816 (no. 585), changing the title of his paper to "Knoxville Gazette." Evidently this partnership expired in November 1816. The earliest issue located with the title of "Knoxville Gazette" is that of Aug. 3, 1816, vol. 12, no. 32, published by Wilson & Grant. The issues from Mar. 10, 1818 to Aug. 4, 1818, vol. 14, no. 31, are published by G. Wilson. Wilson removed to Nashville early in 1819, and started "The Nashville Gazette."

Lawson McGhee Lib., Knoxville, has Jan. 6, 1808-June 3, 1811; Aug. 12, 1811-Nov. 30, 1813.

Boston Athenaeum has Jan. 3, 1807.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 5, 1807; Aug. 3, 1816; Mar. 10, Apr. 21, May 19, June 9-30, July 28, Aug. 4, 1818.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Oct. 2, 1813.

A. A. S. has:

1808. June 22.

1810. Apr. 7.

1813. Sept. 20^m.

Lebanon Gazette, 1818.

In the "History of Tennessee," Wilson County, 1886, p. 853, it is stated that the first newspaper in Wilson County was the Lebanon Gazette, established in 1818 by Ford & Womack. No copies located.

[M'Minnville] Mountain Echo, 1816.

Weekly. Established Jan. 6, 1816, by Eli Harris, with the title of "Mountain Echo." The initial issue is the only one located. According to a statement in the "History of Tennessee," Warren County, 1887, p. 826, the paper was published later by Henry Bridleman.

A. A. S. has:

1816. Jan. 6.

[Murfreesborough] Courier, 1814-1820+.

In the "History of Tennessee," Rutherford County, 1886, p. 831, it is stated that the first newspaper published at Murfreesborough was *The Courier*, established June 16, 1814, by G. A. and A. C. Sublett. This paper is referred to in the "Knoxville Register" of Mar. 10, 1818 and Apr. 13, 1819, and in "The Nashville Gazette" of Aug. 14, 1819 and Mar. 15, 1820. No copies located.

[Nashville] Clarion, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 26, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 16, 1808, vol. 1, no. 4, published by Benj. J. Bradford, with the title of "The Clarion." Benjamin J. Bradford was also the printer of the issue of Mar. 8, 1808. The next and last issue located with this title is that of Aug. 30, 1808, vol. 1, no. 32, published by J[—] & T[homas] G. Bradford. Between this date and Jan. 12, 1810, the title was changed to "The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette," published by Thomas G. Bradford. With the issue of either Feb. 2 or 9, 1813, the title was changed to "The Clarion and Tennessee Gazette"; and with Oct. 28, 1813, to "The Clarion, & Tennessee State Gazette." Before 1817, the title became "Clarion, & Tennessee State Gazette," and with Nov. 9, 1819, "The Clarion, and Tennessee Gazette." With the issue of Sept. 5, 1820, T. G. Bradford sold the paper to Wilkins & M'Keen [John H. Wilkins and Thomas H. M'Keen], who started a new series volume numbering, and continued the paper until after 1820.

Lib. Congress has Jan. 12, 1810-Dec. 27, 1814; June 10, 1817-Dec. 26, 1820.

Harvard has Aug. 30, 1808; Apr. 28, June 9, 16, Nov. 3, 1812.

Univ. of Chicago has Nov. 10, 17, Dec. 1, 8, 22, 1819.

Tenn. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 19-Dec. 26, 1820.

A. A. S. has:

1808. Feb. 16.

- Mar. 8.
 1810. Aug. 10.
 Sept. 21.
 1813. Feb. 16.
 1817. Sept. 2.
 1818. Aug. 18.
 Sept. 1, 15.
 Oct. 6, 13, 20, 27.
 Nov. 3, 10, 17, 24.

[Nashville] *Democratic Clarion*, 1810-1813, see *Clarion*.

Nashville Examiner, 1812-1814.

Weekly. Established in July 1812, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 29, 1813, vol. 2, no. 13, published by Benj. J. Bradford, with the title of "Nashville Examiner." Bradford died Feb. 24, 1814 and was succeeded by his widow, Rebecca Bradford. With the issue of May 25, 1814, the paper was published in her interest by J[—] R. Ruble, & Co. The last issue located is that of June 8, 1814, vol. 3, no. 42.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has June 8, 1814.

A. A. S. has:

1813. Sept. 29.
 Oct. 6, 13^m, 20.
 Nov. 3, 10, 24.
 Extra: Nov. 10.
 1814. May 4, 25.

Nashville Gazette, 1819-1820+.

Semi-weekly and weekly. Established May 26, 1819, by G[eorge] Wilson, with the title of "The Nashville Gazette," published semi-weekly. The paper was issued weekly from Dec. 11, 1819 to Feb. 23, 1820, then the semi-weekly issue was resumed, until finally on July 1, 1820, it became a weekly. So continued until after 1820.

Tenn. State Lib. has May 26, 1819-Dec. 23, 1820.

Lib. Congress has June 2, 1819.

A. A. S. has:

1819. Jan. 26 to Dec. 25.

Mutilated: May 26.

1820. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.

Missing: June 24-July 22.

[Nashville] Impartial Review, 1805-1809.

Weekly. Established Dec. 13, 1805, by Thomas Eastin, with the title of "Impartial Review, or Cumberland Repository." With the issue of Jan. 18, 1806, the word "or" in the title was changed to "and," and with Aug. 23, 1806, an initial "The" was prefixed to the title. The last issue located with this title is that of Dec. 8, 1808, vol. 3, no. 157, and in 1809, the title was changed to "The Review," which see.

Tenn. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 1, 1806-Dec. 8, 1808.

Harvard has Dec. 13, 1805; Jan. 25-Feb. 8, Mar. 1-15, 29, 1806.

Lib. Congress has Apr. 11, July 4, Dec. 3, 10, 1807.

A. A. S. has:

1806. Jan. 18, 25.

Feb. 8.

Aug. 16.

Nashville Intelligencer, 1799.

Weekly. A continuation of the "Rights of Man or the Nashville Intelligencer," but with new volume numbering. The earliest issue located with the title of "The Nashville Intelligencer" is that of July 17, 1799, vol. 1, no. 14, published by John M'Laughlin.

Univ. of Chicago has July 17, Aug. 28, 1799.

[Nashville] Review, 1809-1811.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering of "The Impartial Review." Although the change came in 1809, the earliest issue located with the new title is "The Review" of Nov. 10, 1809, vol. 4, no. 205, published by Thomas Eastin. The last issue located is that of May 3, 1811, vol. 6, no. 282.

Lib. Congress has Dec. 8, 1809.

Boston Athenaeum has May 3, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Nov. 10, 24.
Dec. 1, 15, 29.
1810. Jan. 11, 18.
Feb. 2, 16, 23.
Mar. 30.
Apr. 6, 27^m.
June 1, 8, 29.
July 6, 27.
Aug. 10, 17, 24, 31.
Sept. 14, 21.
Oct. 5, 12, 26.
Nov. 16.
Dec. 7, 14.

[Nashville] Rights of Man, 1799.

Weekly. Established Feb. 11, 1799, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Mar. 11, 1799, vol. 1, no. 5, without name of publisher and with the title of "Rights of Man, or the Nashville Intelligencer."

Univ. of Chicago has Mar. 11, 1799.

[Nashville] Tennessee Gazette, 1800-1806.

Weekly. Established Jan. 14, 1800, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 25, 1800, vol. 1, no. 7, published by Benjamin J. Bradford, with the title of "The Tennessee Gazette," and printed by Bradford & Elam. With the issue of July 30, 1800, the paper was printed by Bradford alone. With the issue of Aug. 3, 1803, the title was changed to "The Tennessee Gazette and Mero-District Advertiser." Between 1803 and 1805 there were changes in the arrangement and punctuation of the title. The last issue located is that of July 5, 1806, vol. 6, no. 11.

Lib. Congress has Feb. 25, 1800-May 1, 1805.

Harvard has June 19, July 3-17, 31, Aug. 7, Oct. 2, 12, 1805; Mar. 22, July 5, 1806.

A. A. S. has:

1801. Aug. 26.
1804. June 13.
July 20.

Nashville Whig, 1812-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 26, 1812, by M[oses] & J[oseph] Norvell, with the title of "The Nashville Whig." With the issue of Sept. 3, 1816, the publishing firm became Norvell & M'Lean. With the issue of Aug. 25, 1817, the paper was bought and published by M'Lean & Tunstall [Charles D. M'Lean and George Tunstall], who changed the title to "The Nashville Whig, and Tennessee Advertiser." With the issue of Aug. 21, 1819, M'Lean sold out his interest to Joseph Norvell, the publishing firm became Tunstall & Norvell, and the title was shortened to "Nashville Whig," changed with Sept. 25, 1819, to "The Nashville Whig." It was so continued until after 1820.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 2, 1812-July 25, 1815; May 7, 1816; Jan. 2, 1819-Dec. 27, 1820.

Tenn. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 1, 1814-June 11, 1816.

Carnegie Lib., Nashville, has Sept. 5, 1815-Dec. 27, 1820.

Harvard has Oct. 14-28, 1812.

Boston Athenaeum has Nov. 3, 1819.

A. A. S. has:

1814. Mar. 8.

1819. May 29.

1820. Aug. 30.

Rogersville Gazette, 1818.

Weekly. The only issue located is that of July 13, 1818, vol. 4, no. 50, published by P[—] Carey, with the title of "Rogersville Gazette and East-Tennessee Republican." The volume numbering would show that it was a continuation of the "Western Pilot."

Univ. of Chicago has July 13, 1818.

[Rogersville] *Knoxville Gazette*, 1791-1792, see under *Knoxville*.

[Rogersville] *Western Pilot*, 1814-1815.

Weekly. Established in November 1814, judging from the date of the earliest and only issue located, that of

Aug. 19, 1815, vol. 1, no. 41, published by John B. Hood, with the title of "Western Pilot."

Lib. Congress has Aug. 19, 1815.

[Shelbyville] Tennessee Herald, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established in February 1816, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 19, 1817, vol. 2, no. 95, published by Theo[derick] F. Bradford, with the title of "The Tennessee Herald." The issue of Feb. 14, 1818, says that nearly two years have elapsed since T. F. Bradford began the paper. The issues from June to September 1818 have no imprint. The next issue located, that of Dec. 11, 1819, was published by William H. Iredale, as was the last issue located, that of Mar. 8, 1820, vol. 4, no. 188.

Lib. Congress has Dec. 19, 1817; Jan. 4, 16, Feb. 7-21, June 20, Aug. 29, Sept. 26, 1818; Dec. 11, 18, 1819.

Boston Athenaeum has Mar. 8, 1820.

Sparta Gazette, 1820.

In the "History of Tennessee," White County, 1887, p. 811, it is stated that the first newspaper in White County was the Sparta Gazette, established by John W. Ford, May 28, 1820, judging from a copy of the issue of Aug. 24, 1820. No copies located.

TEXAS

[Nacogdoches] *Texas Republican*, 1819.

In the Nashville "Clarion" of Sept. 14, 1819, is the following: "We have received the first number of the *Texas Republican*, published by Eli Harris, who some years ago published a newspaper in Franklin"; also extracts from this initial issue, dated Aug. 14. Also in the "Clarion" of Oct. 5, 12 and 19, 1819, are long quotations from issues of the *Texas Republican* published from Aug. 21 to Sept. 11.

"The Nashville Gazette" of Sept. 29, 1819 states "We have received the first number of the '*Texas Republican*,' published at Nacogdoches, by Eli Harris," and prints long extracts from this first issue, quoted from the Lexington "Reporter" and the "Louisville Public Advertiser."

This initial issue of Aug. 14 is also noted in the "St. Louis Enquirer" of Sept. 25, 1819, and in the "Louisiana Gazette" of Sept. 4, 1819, where Harris is spoken of as a native of North Carolina.

Yoakum's "History of Texas," vol. 1, p. 200, says that Horatio Bigelow was the editor, and he may have been, but the name of Eli Harris certainly appeared in the imprint (see "Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc.," vol. 6, p. 162 and vol. 7, p. 242). No copies located.

VERMONT

[Arlington] American Register, 1816-1818.

Weekly. Established Dec. 17, 1816 by Church and Storer [Daniel Church and E. Gilman Storer], with the title of "American Register." Early in 1817 Church retired and E. G. Storer became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Sept. 9, 1817, vol. 1, no. 36, but the name of the paper appears in a list of Vermont newspapers published Jan. 1, 1818, in the Brattleboro "American Yeoman" of Jan. 13, 1818.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has July 15, 1817.

A. A. S. has:

1816. Dec. 17.

1817. July 22.

Sept. 9.

[Bellows Falls] Vermont Intelligencer, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 1, 1817, with the title of "Vermont Intelligencer, & Bellows Falls Advertiser," edited by Thomas G. Fessenden and published by Bill Blake & Co. The "&" in the title was changed to "and" with the issue of Jan. 27, 1817. So continued until after 1820.

Harvard has Jan. 1, 1817-Dec. 25, 1820.

Dartmouth has Jan. 1, 1817-Dec. 27, 1819.

Vt. State Lib. has Jan. 1, 1817-Dec. 21, 1818.

Bellows Falls Pub. Lib. has Jan. 8, 1817-Nov. 15, 1819, fair.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 1, 1817-Dec. 21, 1818.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 1, 1817-Aug. 17, 1818, fair.

N. Y. State Lib. has Jan. 15, 1817-Dec. 21, 1818.

Lib. Congress has Jan. 1-Dec. 22, 1817; June 14, 21, Dec. 27, 1819; May 15, 22, Oct. 23, 1820.

Bennington Free Lib. has Jan. 1-Dec. 22, 1817.

Woodstock Pub. Lib. has Nov. 7, 1817-June 5, 1819, fair.

Windsor Pub. Lib. has Mar. 10-Oct. 13, 1817.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Jan. 1-Dec. 29.
Mutilated: Jan. 27.
1818. Jan. 5-Dec. 28.
1819. Jan. 4-Dec. 27.
1820. Jan. 3-Dec. 25.

[Bennington] Epitome of the World, 1807.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Vermont Gazette, an Epitome of the World." The first issue with the new title of "Epitome of the World" was that of Feb. 10, 1807, vol. 2, no. 57, published by Benjamin Smead. The last issue with this title was that of Oct. 12, 1807, vol. 2, no. 90, when the title was changed to "The World," which see.

Bennington Free Lib. has Feb. 10-Oct. 12, 1807.

N. Y. State Lib. has Feb. 10-Oct. 12, 1807, fair.

Vt. State Lib. has Feb. 24-Sept. 21, 1807, fair.

Harvard has Mar. 3-Oct. 5, 1807, scattering file.

Lib. Congress has May 25, Aug. 24, 1807.

A. A. S. has:

1807. Feb. 24.
Mar. 31.
Apr. 13^m, 27.
May 18, 25.
June 15, 29.
July 27.
Aug. 10, 17.
Sept. 14, 21, 28.
Oct. 12.

[Bennington] Green-Mountain Farmer, 1809-1816.

Weekly. Established Apr. 17, 1809, by Benjamin Smead, for Gideon Olin & Co., with the title of "Green-Mountain Farmer." It succeeded "The World," continuing the advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. The issue of Dec. 31, 1810 is numbered vol. 2, no. 89. The next issue located, that of Mar. 20, 1811, vol. 2, no. 40, marks the beginning of a new series, stating that it was resumed "after a few weeks' suspension."

It bore the title "Green-Mountain Farmer" at the head of the first volume on the first page, and was printed by William Haswell, although Anthony Haswell signed the editorial statement and said that he would assist his son. Why the peculiar volume numbering was adopted is not evident. With the issue of July 13, 1813, the paper was purchased and published by Darius Clark & Co. With the issue of Oct. 24, 1814, Darius Clark became sole publisher and resumed the full front-page heading "The Green-Mountain Farmer." The last issue with this title was that of June 10, 1816, vol. 7, no. 41, after which Clark changed the title to "Vermont Gazette," which see.

Vt. State Lib. has May 8, 1809-Nov. 25, 1810; Apr. 8, 1811-May 27, 1816, fair.

Bennington Free Lib. has June 24, 1811-June 10, 1816.

N. Y. State Lib. has Aug. 3, 1813-Dec. 26, 1814; Jan. 2-16, Feb. 6, 27, Mar. 6, 20, Apr. 24-Dec. 25, 1815.

Brattleboro Free Lib. has May 14, 1810; Jan. 2, 1814.

Lib. Congress has June 10, 1811.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 5, 1813.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Apr. 17, 24.

May 1, 29.

June 12^m.

July 10, 17, 31.

Aug. 21, 28.

Sept. 4, 25.

Nov. 20.

Dec. 4, 18, 25.

1810. Jan. 15, 22, 29.

Feb. 5, 19^m, 26.

Mar. 5, 26.

Apr. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.

May 7, 14.

June 11, 18^m, 25.

July 16, 23, 30.

Sept. 3, 10.

Oct. 15, 29.

Nov. 5, 12.

- Dec. 2, 9, 17, 24, 31.
1811. Mar. 20.
Apr. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
May 6^m, 13, 20, 27.
June 3, 10, 17, 24.
July 11, 29.
Aug. 5.
Sept. 23, 30.
Oct. 7, 21, 28^m.
Nov. 4, 25^m.
Dec. 2, 9, 30.
1812. Jan. 6, 20, 27^m.
Feb. 3, 24.
Mar. 12.
Apr. 14, 20^m.
May 4.
June 8, 22^m.
July 15, 22.
Oct. 7.
Nov. 18, 26.
Dec. 2, 9, 30.
1813. Jan. 6, 13.
Mar. 3, 24.
May 18.
July 27.
Aug. 3, 31.
Sept. 28.
Oct. 19, 26.
Nov. 9.
Dec. 21.
1814. Jan. 18.
Feb. 15.
Mar. 29.
May 3.
June 14, 21.
July 5.
Aug. 30.
Sept. 13, 20.
Nov. 14, 21.

- Dec. 5.
1815. Feb. 27.
Mar. 13.
May 8.
July 3, 10.
Aug. 7, 14.
Sept. 4.
Oct. 9, 16, 30.
Nov. 6, 20.
Dec. 4.
1816. Jan. 8.
June 3, 10.

[Bennington] Haswell's Vermont Gazette, 1801-1802, see Vermont Gazette.

Bennington News-Letter, 1811-1815.

Weekly. Established Mar. 25, 1811, with the title of "Bennington News-Letter," published for the Proprietors. Advertisements show that Benjamin Smead was the printer and it is stated in Hemenway's "Vermont Gazetteer," vol. 1, p. 252, that Andrew Selden was reputed to be the editor. In May 1812, the paper was printed and published by Samuel Williams & Co. [Harry Whitney]. With the issue of Aug. 26, 1812, Samuel Williams became sole publisher. In the issue of Dec. 16, 1812, Harry Whitney announced that he had purchased the paper from his late partner, Samuel Williams. The issues of Dec. 16, 23 and 30, 1812 bore no imprint, but the last issue carried the announcement of the partnership of Harry Whitney and M[oses] Dorr and the issue of Jan. 6, 1813, was published by Whitney & Dorr. With the issue of Feb. 4, 1813, Harry Whitney became sole publisher. In the summer of 1814, the paper was published by Harry Whitney for the Proprietors, changed to Henry Whitney for the Proprietors with Oct. 17, 1814, and with Nov. 7, 1814, to Henry Whitney and Company. With the issue of Dec. 19, 1814, it was published by H. Whitney alone. The last issue located is that of Aug. 14, 1815, vol. 5, no. 12.

Bennington Free Lib. has Oct. 14, 1811; May 27, 1812-Apr. 19, 1814; Aug. 9, 1814-Aug. 14, 1815.

Vt. State Lib. has Mar. 25, Apr. 9, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1811. Mar. 25.

Apr. 2, 9, 16.

May 7.

June 4.

July 16, 30.

Nov. 4.

1812. May 27.

1813. Feb. 18.

June 2ⁿ.

Dec. 21.

[Bennington] Ploughman, 1801-1802.

Weekly. Established July 13, 1801, judging from the earliest issue located, that of July 27, 1801, vol. 1, no. 3, published by Collier and Stockwell [Thomas Collier and William Stockwell], with the title of "The Ploughman; or, Republican Federalist." It was discontinued with the issue of Feb. 1, 1802, vol. 1, no. 30. In September 1802 Collier established the "Troy Gazette" at Troy, N. Y. (see Hemenway's "Vermont Gazetteer," vol. 1, p. 252).

Harvard has July 27, Aug. 3, Sept. 7-28, Oct. 19, 26, Nov. 9-Dec. 14, 28, 1801; Jan. 4, 11, Feb. 1, 1802.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Aug. 24, 1801.

[Bennington] Tablet of the Times, 1797.

Weekly. Established Jan. 5, 1797, by Merrill & Langdon [Orsamus C. Merrill and Reuben Langdon], with the title of "Tablet of the Times," succeeding "The Vermont Gazette" and continuing its advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. With the issue of Apr. 13, 1797, the partnership was dissolved and Orsamus C. Merrill became sole publisher. The last issue with this title was that of Aug. 31, 1797, vol. 1, no. 35, after which the title reverted to "The Vermont Gazette," which see.

Vt. State Library has Jan. 12-Aug. 31, 1797.

Harvard has Jan. 5, 19-Feb. 16, Mar. 2-Apr. 6, 20, 1797.

A. A. S. has:

1797. Mar. 30.

[Bennington] Vermont Gazette, 1783-1796, 1797-1807, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 5, 1783, by Haswell & Russell [Anthony Haswell and David Russell], with the title of "The Vermont Gazette, or Freeman's Depository." With the issue of Jan. 1, 1784, the title was altered to "The Vermont Gazette, or Freemans Depository," and with June 7, 1784, shortened to "The Vermont Gazette." With the issue of Nov. 1, 1790, Russell retired and Anthony Haswell became sole publisher. With the issue of Aug. 19, 1796, the paper was printed by O[rsamus] C. Merrill, for Anthony Haswell. The last issue with this title was that of Dec. 29, 1796, vol. 14, no. 32, after which came the "Tablet of the Times," which see.

"The Vermont Gazette" was reestablished Sept. 5, 1797, by Anthony Haswell, succeeding the "Tablet of the Times" and continuing its advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. It was suspended with the issue of Jan. 9, 1800, vol. 3, no. 17, but was resumed Mar. 6, 1800, with new volume numbering and with the title of "Vermont Gazette," published by Anthony Haswell, for the Proprietors. The title was changed to "The Vermont Gazette" with the issue of June 23, 1800. It was suspended with the issue of Mar. 9, 1801, vol. 1, no. 52, judging from the announcement in the issue of Feb. 23, 1801, the last located. The paper was resumed by Anthony Haswell, Mar. 30, 1801, with new volume numbering and with the title of "Haswell's Vermont Gazette revived." With the issue of Sept. 28, 1801, the title became "Haswell's Vermont Gazette," and with Apr. 19, 1802 "Vermont Gazette." With the issue of Dec. 27, 1802, it was printed by Anthony Haswell & Co. It was suspended from Jan. 3 to Apr. 6, 1803, when it was resumed by Anthony Haswell & Co., with new volume numbering. With the issue of Apr. 3, 1804 Anthony

Haswell became sole publisher, again starting a new volume numbering, and with Aug. 21, 1804, took Benjamin Smead into partnership, under the firm name of A. Haswell & B. Smead. The printing-office was destroyed by fire Nov. 8, 1804, and the paper was suspended until Dec. 3, 1804. The last issue published by A. Haswell & B. Smead was that of Jan. 6, 1806, vol. 2, no. 35. The partnership was dissolved and on Jan. 13, 1806, Benjamin Smead brought out the "Vermont Gazette, an Epitome of the World," with a new volume numbering. The last issue with this title was that of Feb. 3, 1807, vol. 2, no. 56, after which the title was changed to "Epitome of the World," which see.

After having been succeeded by the "Epitome of the World," "The World" and the "Green-Mountain Farmer," this paper finally adopted its early title, the "Vermont Gazette," published by Darius Clark, June 18, 1816, vol. 7, no. 42. It was so continued by Clark until after 1820.

Vt. State Lib. has June 5, 1783-May 24, 1790; July 5, 1790-Dec. 29, 1796; Sept. 5, 1797-Feb. 23, 1801, fair; Apr. 6, 1801-Feb. 3, 1807, fair; July 30, 1816-Dec. 26, 1820, fair.

Bennington Free Lib. has June 8-Dec. 29, 1786; Sept. 5, 1797-Sept. 12, 1799; Apr. 5-Dec. 27, 1802; Apr. 6, 1803-Nov. 4, 1805, fair; Apr. 7, 1806-Feb. 3, 1807; June 18, 1816-Oct. 24, 1820.

Harvard has June 13, 27, Sept. 19, Nov. 14, 1791; Dec. 26, 1794; Jan. 9, Feb. 6, 20, May 8, 22, June 5, 12, 26, July 17, 24, Sept. 18, 1795; Jan. 1-Dec. 1, 1796, scattering; Mar. 29, 1802-Dec. 30, 1806, scattering file.

Lib. Congress has Apr. 13, 20, July 13, 1789; July 4, 1791; Apr. 1, 1817; Jan. 12, 1819-Dec. 26, 1820, fair.

N. Y. State Lib. has Mar. 10, 1806-Feb. 3, 1807, fair.

Yale has Dec. 4, 1786.

Boston Athenaeum has Dec. 4, 1788.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Feb. 22, 1793; Jan. 17, 1794.

Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 4, 1793.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 7, Sept. 11, 1795.

Long Is. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 17, 1800; Nov. 22, 29, Dec. 20, 1802; Sept. 22, 1806.

Mass. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 22, Dec. 23, 1806.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 18, 1820.

A. A. S. has:

1783. June 19.
July 3, 24, 31.
Aug. 7, 28.
Sept. 18.
Oct. 2, 16.
1784. Jan. 31.
May 3.
June 7, 28.
July 12, 19.
Nov. 29.
Dec. 20, 27.
1785. Jan. 3, 31.
Feb. 6, 14, 21.
Mar. 7, 14, 28.
Apr. 18, 25.
May 2, 30.
June 6, 13, 20, 27.
Aug. 1, 8, 15, 22.
Sept. 5, 12, 19.
Oct. 10, 17.
Nov. 28.
Dec. 12, 26^m.
1786. Apr. 10.
May 1, 8, 15, 29.
June 5, 12.
July 3, 24.
Aug. 7, 21, 28.
Sept. 4, 25.
Oct. 16, 30^m.
Nov. 6, 13, 20.
Dec. 4, 18.
Extraordinary: Aug. 31.
1787. July 16, 23.
Aug. 6.

- Sept. 10.
Oct. 15, 22.
1788. Apr. 21, 28.
May 5, 26.
June 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.
July 7, 21, 28.
Aug. 4, 11, 18, 25.
Sept. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
Oct. 6, 13, 20, 27.
Nov. 3, 17, 24.
Dec. 8, 15, 29.
Extraordinary: Sept. 15.
Supplement: Aug. 18.
1789. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
Supplement: Nov. 16.
Missing: Feb. 16, Mar. 2, 9, 30, Apr. 6, 13,
20, May 25, June 22, 29, July 6, 13, Aug.
3, Dec. 21.
1790. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.
Mutilated: Dec. 6.
Missing: Jan. 4, June 21, 28, Aug. 2, 9, 30,
Sept. 6, Nov. 8, 29, Dec. 20.
1791. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.
Mutilated: Jan. 3, Feb. 14, July 11, 18,
Aug. 15.
Missing: Jan. 24, 31, Feb. 7, 28, Mar. 7-28,
May 2, 9, 16, 30, June 13, Aug. 1, Sept.
5, Oct. 3-24, Dec. 12, 19, 26.
1792. Jan. 2 to Dec. 28.
Supplement: Mar. 19.
Mutilated: Nov. 16.
Missing: Jan. 23, Feb. 6, Mar. 12, 26, Apr.
6, 20, 27, May 4, 11, 25, June 1-29, July
6, 13, Aug. 10, Sept. 21, Oct. 12, Nov. 2,
30, Dec. 21, 28.
1793. Jan. 4, 11, 18.
Feb. 15.
Mar. 15.
Apr. 5, 18.

- July 12, 26.
Sept. 27.
Oct. 4.
Nov. 15, 29.
Dec. 13, 20.
Extraordinary: Oct. 4.
1794. Jan. 17, 24.
Feb. 21, 28.
Mar. 28.
Apr. 25.
May 2, 16.
July 25.
Aug. 15^m.
Sept. 19^m.
Nov. 14.
Dec. 12, 19.
1795. Jan. 9, 16, 23.
Feb. 13, 20.
Mar. 27.
Apr. 24.
June 26.
July 24.
Nov. 6, 13, 20.
Dec. 25.
1796. Sept. 9.
1797. Dec. 26.
1798. Jan. 9.
Apr. 27.
May 25.
1800. Oct. 13^m, 20^m, 27.
1801. Jan. 26.
Apr. 20.
Aug. 3.
1802. Nov. 1.
1803. Sept. 13.
Nov. 29.
Dec. 6.
1804. Feb. 14.
June 12.

- July 24.
Oct. 22.
1805. Apr. 15.
Aug. 26.
Oct. 21.
Nov. 4, 11.
1806. Feb. 3, 10, 17, 24.
Mar. 3.
July 14^m, 28.
Sept. 1.
Dec. 2.
1807. Jan. 6, 20, 27.
Feb. 3.
1816. July 9, 23.
Aug. 6, 20.
Sept. 2, 10.
Nov. 12, 19.
Dec. 16.
1818. May 5 to Dec. 29.
Mutilated: July 21, Sept. 22, Dec. 15.
Missing: May 26, June 30, Aug. 25.
1819. Jan. 5 to Dec. 27.
Mutilated: Feb. 16, Mar. 16, Apr. 13, May 25.
Missing: Apr. 27.
1820. Jan. 11 to Dec. 26.
Missing: Feb. 8, Mar. 14, Aug. 1.

[Bennington] World, 1807-1809.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Epitome of the World." The first issue with the new title of "The World" was that of Oct. 19, 1807, vol. 2, no. 91, published by Benjamin Smead. The last numbered issue located is that of Mar. 27, 1809, vol. 4, no. 160, but Smead issued a single sheet, Apr. 11, 1809, with a column title "The World at Length Ended." On Apr. 17, 1809 the paper was succeeded by the "Green-Mountain Farmer."

Bennington Free Lib. has Oct. 19, 1807-Mar. 20, 1809.

Vt. State Lib. has Oct. 26, 1807-Mar. 27, 1809, fair.

N. Y. State Lib. has Oct. 26-Nov. 30, Dec. 14, 1807.

Harvard has Nov. 9, 1807; Mar. 28, July 18, Aug. 8-22, Sept. 26, Oct. 24, Nov. 7, 14-Dec. 19, 1808.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 1-Mar. 21, Apr. 4, May 9, 23, 30, 1808.

A. A. S. has:

1807. Oct. 19.
 Nov. 9, 16, 23.
 Dec. 7.
1808. Jan. 11.
 Feb. 15, 22, 29.
 Mar. 7, 14.
 Apr. 18.
 May 9, 16, 23, 30.
 June 6.
 July 4.
 Aug. 15, 29.
 Sept. 28.
 Oct. 24, 31.
 Nov. 7, 28.
 Dec. 19, 26.
1809. Jan. 9, 16, 23, 30.
 Feb. 13, 20.
 Mar. 27.
 Apr. 11.

[Brattleboro] *American Yeoman*, 1817-1818.

Weekly. Established Feb. 4, 1817, by Simeon Ide, with the title of "*American Yeoman*." This is the actual date of the first issue, and is so given at the top of the editorial column, although the date of Feb. 5 is given in the title heading. The last issue with this title was that of Jan. 27, 1818, vol. 1, no. 52, after which, on Feb. 16 following, it was combined with the "*Vermont Republican*" of Windsor to form the "*Vermont Republican and American Yeoman*." See under Windsor.

Vt. State Lib. has Feb. 4, 1817-Jan. 27, 1818.

Brattleboro Free Lib. has Feb. 4, 1817-Jan. 27, 1818.

Lib. Congress has Mar. 25, Sept. 30, 1817.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Mar. 4, 18.

Apr. 1.

July 1, 8.

[Brattleboro] *Federal Galaxy*, 1797-1803.

Weekly. Established Jan. 6, 1797, with the title of "Federal Galaxy," published by Benjamin Smead, for Dickman and Smead [Thomas Dickman and Benjamin Smead]. With the issue of Aug. 28, 1797, the partnership having been terminated, Benjamin Smead became sole publisher. With the issue of Aug. 23, 1800, an ornamental head-piece was inserted in the center of the title, with the word "Vermont" in the border of the ornament. The last issue located is that of Jan. 17, 1803, vol. 7, no. 301.

Harvard has Jan. 6-27, Feb. 10, 17, Mar. 3, 10, 24, Apr. 21, May 20, June 2, 9, 23-July 14, Nov. 13, 1797; Jan. 2, 23, Feb. 13, May 8-June 5, 1798; Jan. 15, 1799-Jan. 17, 1803, fair.

Vt. State Lib. has Aug. 21, 1797; Jan. 2, 1798-Dec. 13, 1800.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 4, 11, 1797.

Lib. Congress has May 8, 1798; Jan. 11, Sept. 20, Nov. 22, 1800; Aug. 24, 1801; May 10, 1802.

Univ. of Vt. has May 21, 1799.

Conn. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 11, 1800.

Yale has Feb. 20, 1802.

A. A. S. has:

1797. Jan. 27.

Feb. 10, 17^m, 24.

Mar. 10, 17, 24, 31.

Apr. 14, 28.

May 5, 12^m, 19, 26.

June 16, 23, 30.

July 7^m.

Aug. 4, 11, 18, 21, 28.

Sept. 4, 11, 18.

- Oct. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.
 Dec. 19^m, 26.
1798. Jan. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.
 Feb. 27.
 Mar. 6.
 Apr. 3, 10^m.
 May 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
 June 12, 19, 26.
 July 3, 10, 17, 31.
 Aug. 11.
 Sept. 8, 22, 29.
 Oct. 6, 13, 27.
 Nov. 27.
 Dec. 4, 11, 18, 25.
1799. Jan. 15.
 Mar. 12, 19, 26.
 Apr. 2.
 Aug. 5, 12.
 Oct. 28.
1800. Feb. 1.
 Apr. 5.
 May 31.
 June 7.
 Sept. 6, 13.
1801. June 1.

[Brattleboro] Independent Freeholder, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established Dec. 3, 1808, with the title of "Independent Freeholder, and Republican Journal," published by Peter Houghton, for the Proprietors. The last issue located is that of Apr. 3, 1809, vol. 1, no. 18.

Lib. Congress has Dec. 3, 1808-Apr. 3, 1809.

Harvard has Dec. 17-31, 1808.

Brattleboro Free Lib. has Dec. 31, 1808; Feb. 20, Mar. 6, 1809.

A. A. S. has:

1808. Dec. 3.

1809. Apr. 3.

[Brattleboro] Reporter, 1803-1820+.

Weekly. Established Feb. 21, 1803, by William Fessenden, with the title of "The Reporter." At some time between November 1810 and February 1811, the title was changed to "The Brattleborough Reporter." The paper was suspended for three months in the spring of 1812, but was resumed May 16, 1812, by William Fessenden, the title becoming "The Reporter." During the years 1813 to 1815, no name of a publisher appeared in the imprint, but the text shows that William Fessenden remained as publisher until his death, Jan. 20, 1815. The paper was then published by his widow, P[at]ty Fessenden, until the issue of Nov. 7, 1815, when there was no imprint for over a year. With the issue of Jan. 14, 1817, John Holbrook, William Fessenden's father-in-law, became the publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

Vt. State Lib. has Feb. 21, 1803-Feb. 9, 1805.

Brattleboro Free Lib. has Aug. 1, 1803; Feb. 15, 1806-Feb. 7, 1807; June 18, Aug. 6, 20, Sept. 3, 17, Oct. 29, 1808; June 23, 1810; Apr. 29, May 13, 27, June 24, July 1, 22, 1811; May 16, 23, June 6, July 18, Aug. 29, Sept. 26, Oct. 17, 24, Nov. 7, 28, 1812; Jan. 9-July 3, fair, Nov. 20, 1813; Jan. 15-Mar. 5, Apr. 2, 9, May 14, July 27, Aug. 31, Sept. 14, 1814; Mar. 15, May 31, July 5, Aug. 16, Sept. 5, 19, Oct. 31, Dec. 5, 1815; Jan. 2, Apr. 10, 17, May 1-22, July 17, Sept. 2, Oct. 22-Nov. 5, 1816; Feb. 25, Mar. 15, 1817; Mar. 14, 21, May 23, July 4, Aug. 1, 22, Sept. 19, Nov. 28, 1820.

Harvard has Feb. 28, Mar. 14, May 16, June 6, July 18, 25, Aug. 8, 22, Sept. 5, Oct. 10, 1803; Mar. 10, Apr. 7, July 21, Oct. 6, Nov. 10, 17, Dec. 1, 1804; Jan. 4, May 3, 1805.

Lib. Congress has Apr. 4, 1803; July 28, Aug. 4, 1804; Dec. 6, 1806; Feb. 3, 1810; May 16, 1812; May 1, 1813-Apr. 9, 1814; July 13, 1814; Oct. 10, Nov. 7, 1815; Apr. 3, 1816-Nov. 11, 1817.

Boston Pub. Lib. Feb. 6, 27, 1809.

Boston Athenaeum has July 28, 1810; May 16, Dec. 26, 1812; Jan. 2, 1813.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has May 1, 1816.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 15, 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1803. Apr. 25^m.
 June 13.
 July 4.
 Aug. 1.
 Nov. 14.
1804. Jan. 16, 23.
 Mar. 10.
 Apr. 14.
1805. Apr. 13.
 Sept. 14.
 Nov. 9^m.
1806. Feb. 15.
 Oct. 18, 25^m.
1807. May 9.
 July 18^m.
1810. Jan. 20.
 Mar. 10, 17.
 Apr. 14.
 June 16, 30.
 July 21.
 Aug. 18^m.
 Oct. 6, 20, 29.
 Nov. 5, 12.
 Dec. 3.
1811. Feb. 11.
 Mar. 4, 18.
 May 6, 20.
 June 24.
 July 1.
1814. June 18^m.
1816. Jan. 2 to Dec. 31.
 Mutilated: Apr. 24, Aug. 28.
 Missing: Jan. 2, Sept. 17-Dec. 31.

[Burlington] Centinel, 1812-1814, see Vermont Centinel.

Burlington Gazette, 1814-1817, 1819-1820.

Weekly. Established Sept. 9, 1814, by Hinckley & Fish [A——— Hinckley and F——— G. Fish], with the

title of "Burlington Gazette." On Jan. 26, 1815, the partnership was dissolved and F. G. Fish became sole publisher. In the issue of Feb. 6, 1817, vol. 3, no. 21, it was stated that the paper would be discontinued after the ensuing week. A paper with the same title of "Burlington Gazette" was established Jan. 21, 1819, by Robert Findlay and continued into the year 1820.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 16, 1814-Feb. 6, 1817.

Harvard has Oct. 21, 1814.

Burlington Pub. Lib. has Aug. 25, 1815; Apr. 12, 1816.

Vt. State Lib. has Jan. 28, 1819.

A. A. S. has:

1814. Sept. 9, 16.

Oct. 17.

Nov. 18, 25.

1815. Feb. 3, 10.

Mar. 10, 31.

Apr. 7.

1816. Feb. 2.

Burlington Mercury, 1796-1797.

Weekly. Established Mar. 4, 1796, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 1, 1796, no. 5, published by Donnelly and Hill [Robert Donnelly and James Hill], with the title of "Burlington Mercury." With the issue of Nov. 4, 1796, the partnership was dissolved and Robert Donnelly became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Mar. 24, 1797, no. 56, at which time the paper was reduced to a single sheet and was about ready to expire.

Harvard has Apr. 1-29, May 20, June 3, 17, July 1-22, Aug. 5, 12, Sept. 2-16, 30-Oct. 14, 28-Nov. 11, 25-Dec. 23, 1796; Jan. 13-Mar. 10, 24, 1797.

Phil. Lib. Co. has June 3-17, 1796.

[Burlington] **Northern Centinel**, 1810-1817, see **Vermont Centinel**.

[Burlington] **Northern Intelligencer**, 1814.

Weekly. Established Sept. 5, 1814, by Slade, Ferguson & Conant [William Slade, Jun., Bartimeus Ferguson

and Augustus F. Conant], with the title of "Northern Intelligencer." The paper was discontinued with the issue of Dec. 9, 1814, vol. 1, no. 14 (see Burlington "Northern Sentinel," Dec. 16, 1814). It was conducted by Slade & Ferguson of Middlebury, with A. F. Conant as the publishing member of the firm at Burlington.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 5, Dec. 2, 9, 1814.

Harvard has Sept. 19, Oct. 24, 31, Nov. 11, 18, 1814.

A. A. S. has:

1814. Sept. 5, 26.

[Burlington] **Northern Sentinel**, 1814-1820, see **Vermont Centinel**.

[Burlington] **Vermont Centinel**, 1801-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 19, 1801, by J[ohn] K. Baker, with the title of "Vermont Centinel." On Oct. 12, 1804, Josiah King became the publisher, retaining Mr. Baker as assistant editor. On Oct. 11, 1805, J. K. Baker became the publisher, issuing the paper for the Proprietors. (The changes in 1804 and 1805 are taken from an article in Hemenway's "Vermont Gazetteer," 1863, vol. 1, p. 552, by W. H. Hoyt, who examined a fairly complete file, beginning in 1803, now not located). With the issue of Apr. 2, 1806, the paper was transferred to Daniel Greenleaf & Co., changed with the issue of June 4, 1806 to Greenleaf & Mills [Samuel Mills]. With the issue of Oct. 8, 1806, Samuel Mills became sole publisher. With the issue of Dec. 13, 1810 the title was changed to "Northern Centinel," a new volume numbering adopted and the paper was printed by Samuel Mills for the Proprietors. With the issue of Dec. 10, 1812, the title was changed to "The Centinel." With the issue of Jan. 14, 1814, the title was changed to "Northern Sentinel." With the issue of Dec. 23, 1814, Samuel Mills became sole publisher. With the issue of Jan. 2, 1818, Samuel Mills retired and the paper was published by his brothers Ephraim and Thomas, under the firm name of E. & T. Mills. The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Vt. State Lib. has Mar. 19, 1801-Dec. 15, 1803; Apr. 8,

1807-Dec. 3, 1812, fair; Jan. 7, June 24, 1813; Mar. 18, 1814; Nov. 1, 15, 1816; Jan. 3, 1817-Dec. 31, 1819.

Burlington Pub. Lib. has Apr. 2, 1806-Nov. 30, 1810; Dec. 10, 1812-Oct. 22, 1813; Feb. 4, 1814-Dec. 27, 1816.

Harvard has Apr. 9, 1801-Oct. 28, 1807, scattering file; Dec. 20, 27, 1810; May 23, July 4, 1811; July 23, Aug. 27, 1813; Feb. 11-Dec. 23, 1814, scattering file.

Univ. of Vt. Lib. has Mar. 24-Apr. 14, 1803; Apr. 2, 1806-Mar. 25, 1807; Apr. 15, 1813; Jan. 3, 1817-Dec. 25, 1818.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 2, 1806-Mar. 18, 1808; Sept. 16, 1814.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 1, 1805; July 8-22, 1808; Apr. 7, 1809; June 27, 1812; Jan. 28, 1820.

Boston Athenaeum has July 4, 11, 25, Oct. 10, Nov. 14, Dec. 12, 26, 1811; Jan. 9, 30, 1812; Apr. 1, 15, 1813; Dec. 15, 1815.

Lib. Congress has Aug. 25, 1803.

A. A. S. has:

1801. May 14^m.

July 9^m.

Oct. 29.

Nov. 5^m.

1802. July 1^m.

1804. Mar. 1.

1806. Feb. 7.

July 2, 9, 23.

Aug. 13.

Dec. 11.

1807. Jan. 21.

Mar. 11.

Apr. 15, 22.

1808. Mar. 11.

Nov. 25.

Dec. 16, 23.

1809. Jan. 13, 20.

Feb. 3, 17, 24.

Mar. 10, 24.

1810. Mar. 30.
Apr. 13.
June 29.
July 6, 13, 20.
Sept. 21.
Oct. 19.
Nov. 2.
Dec. 27.
1811. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.
Missing: Mar. 7, 14, 28, May 2, 16, June
13, July 18, Aug. 8, 29, Sept. 5, 12, 26,
Oct. 3, 10, Dec. 5, 19, 26.
1812. Jan. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.
Feb. 6.
Apr. 2, 9.
May 14, 21.
June 18.
Aug. 6, 13.
Oct. 29.
Nov. 5.
Dec. 24^m.
1813. Jan. 7, 14.
Apr. 29^m.
Oct. 29.
Dec. 3, 24, 31.
1814. Jan. 7, 21.
Feb. 4.
Mar. 4, 18, 25.
Apr. 1, 8, 29.
May 13, 20^m, 27.
June 3, 10, 17^m, 24.
July 22, 29.
Aug. 19, 26^m.
Oct. 14.
Nov. 4, 25.
1815. Jan. 6.
Feb. 10, 17.
Mar. 17.
May 19^m.

- Sept. 29.
 Oct. 13, 20.
 Nov. 3.
 Dec. 8, 29.
 1816. May 17.
 June 21, 28.
 July 26.
 Aug. 2, 16, 30.
 Nov. 8, 15.
 1817. Jan. 10.
 May 2.
 1819. Oct. 8.
 1820. Mar. 17.
 Sept. 15^m.

[Chester] *Green Mountain Palladium*, 1807-1808.

Weekly. Established June 22, 1807, by Charles Spear, with the title of "*Green Mountain Palladium*." It was so continued to the date of the last issue located, that of Apr. 12, 1808, vol. 1, no. 43.

Harvard has June 29, July 6, Aug. 3, 17, 24, Sept. 7-Oct. 5, 26, Nov. 9-23, 1807.

Lib. Congress has Aug. 3, 1807.

A. A. S. has:

1807. June 22.
 July 6, 20.
 Aug. 10, 17, 24, 31.
 Oct. 5, 19, 26.
 Nov. 16, 23^m.
 Dec. 29.
 1808. Jan. 5, 12.
 Apr. 12.

[Danville] *North Star*, 1807-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 8, 1807, by Ebenezer Eaton, with the title of "*North Star*." With the issue of Feb. 3, 1810, it was published by Ebenezer Eaton, for the Proprietors, but with Jan. 28, 1815, reverted to Ebenezer Eaton as sole proprietor, and so continued until after 1820.

Vt. State Lib. has Jan. 8, 27, Mar. 10-24, June 30, July 14, Aug. 8, Sept. 12-26, Nov. 14, 23, Dec. 14, 1807; Jan. 11, Feb. 8, 15, May 2, 21, 28, June 18, 25, July 9, 16, Oct. 8, Nov. 19, 26, Dec. 10, 31, 1808; Mar. 11-Apr. 1, 15, 22, May 13, 1809; June 2, Oct. 6, 1810; Mar. 2, 16, Dec. 13, 1811; Mar. 14, 28-Apr. 11, 25, Nov. 7, 1812; Jan. 9, Apr. 3, 24, May 8, July 31, Aug. 21, Oct. 30, Nov. 27, Dec. 4, 25, 1813; Jan. 1, 1814-Dec. 28, 1820, fair.

Harvard has Jan. 27-Nov. 30, 1807, scattering file; Dec. 3, 17-31, 1808.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 13, 1809-Jan. 12, 1811; July 15, 1815.

St. Johnsbury Athenaeum has Jan. 19, 1811-Jan. 23, 1813; Aug. 20, 1814; Aug. 14, 1818.

Univ. of Vt. Lib. has Oct. 9-Nov. 6, 20, 1813-Mar. 5, 1814.

Boston Athenaeum has May 20, 1809; Jan. 6, Nov. 2, 30, Dec. 14, 1816; Mar. 7, 14, 28, May 9, 16, 1817; Jan. 30, Feb. 6, Aug. 28, Sept. 4, Oct. 2, 30, 1818; Jan. 8, Dec. 3, 1819; Mar. 31, June 29, 1820.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 4, 1813.

Fairbanks Museum, St. Johnsbury, has Dec. 11, 1813.

Lib. Congress has June 12, Aug. 7, 28, 1815; June 1, Oct. 26, Nov. 30, 1816.

A. A. S. has:

1807. Jan. 8 to Dec. 28.

Mutilated: Mar. 17.

Missing: Mar. 3.

1808. Jan. 4 to Dec. 31.

Extra: Sept. 3, Dec. 17.

Missing: Mar. 14, Oct. 22, Dec. 17.

1809. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.

Mutilated: June 24.

Missing: Jan. 21, Oct. 14.

1810. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.

Missing: Jan. 13, 20, Dec. 29.

1811. Jan. 5 to Dec. 27.

Supplement: Dec. 21.

Missing: May 4.

1812. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.
Missing: Feb. 29, Mar. 7, 14, 21, 28, June 20, Dec. 26.
1813. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.
Missing: Feb. 13, May 15.
1814. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.
Missing: Jan. 8, Apr. 23.
1815. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.
Supplement: Sept. 2.
Missing: Feb. 4, Oct. 21.
1816. Jan. 6 to Dec. 28.
Missing: Jan. 27, Feb. 3, Apr. 27, May 4, 11, 18, June 29.
1817. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
Missing: Dec. 12, 19.
1818. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.
Missing: Mar. 13, July 24.
1819. Jan. 1, 8, 15, 22.
1820. Mar. 17^m, 24.

Dresden Mercury, see under **Hanover, N. H.**

[Fair Haven] **Farmer's Library**, 1795-1798.

Weekly. Established July 27, 1795, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 3, 1795, vol. 1, no. 2, printed by Prosper Brown, with the title of "The Farmer's Library." With the issue of Aug. 10 or 17, 1795, the paper was printed by William Henesy. Between Aug. 17 and Oct. 19, 1795, the title was changed to "The Farmer's Library. Or Fairhaven Telegraphe." With the issue of Oct. 26, 1795, the paper was printed by J[udah] P. Spooner, & W. Henesy. After March 1796 (see A. N. Adams, "History of Fair Haven," p. 97), it was published by Judah P. Spooner alone. It dwindled in size to half sheets in January and February 1797, and was suspended from Mar. 2, 1797 (see advertisement in "Rutland Herald" of Mar. 5, 1797). It was re-established in November 1797, judging from the issue of Mar. 27, 1798, vol. 1, no. 20, printed by Judah P. Spooner, with the title of "The Farmer's Library. Or, Vermont and

New-York Intelligencer." The last issue located is that of Apr. 3, 1798, vol. 1, no. 21.

Harvard has Aug. 3, 1795; May 30, July 4-18, Aug. 8-22, Sept. 5-Oct. 26, Nov. 9-23, Dec. 7-28, 1796; Jan. 4-18, Feb. 1, 8, 1797.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 3, 1798.

A. A. S. has:

1795. Aug. 17.
 Oct. 19, 26.
 Nov. 2, 9.
 1798. Mar. 27.

Fairhaven Gazette, 1794-1795.

The date is rather conjectural, as no copies have been located. Gilman's "Bibliography of Vermont," p. 212, states that Matthew Lyon "appears to have started the 'Fairhaven Gazette,' published by his son, James Lyon, and Judah P. Spooner, which is believed to have been succeeded by 'The Farmer's Library, or Fairhaven Telegraph.'" This statement, also appearing in the various histories of Fair Haven and of Rutland County, is apparently based on Pliny H. White's "Life and Services of Matthew Lyon," 1858, p. 12, where it is stated that "The Farmer's Library" during a part of its existence bore the name of the "Fairhaven Gazette."

[Middlebury] Christian Herald, 1816.

Weekly. Established Sept. 25, 1816, by T[imothy] C. Strong, with the title of "Christian Herald," in a paper of quarto size. The last issue with this title was that of Oct. 30, 1816, vol. 1, no. 6, when the title was changed to "Christian Messenger," which see.

Middlebury Coll. Lib. has Sept. 25-Oct. 30, 1816.

Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, has Sept. 25-Oct. 30, 1816.

A. A. S. has:

1816. Sept. 25.
 Oct. 2, 16.

[Middlebury] Christian Messenger, 1816-1819.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Christian Herald." The first issue of the "Christian Messenger" was that of Nov. 6, 1816, vol. 1, no. 7, published by T[imothy] C. Strong. The paper was suspended by Strong with the issue of June 4, 1817, vol. 1, no. 37, but was resumed under the proprietorship of Francis Burnap with the issue of Aug. 20, 1817, vol. 1, no. 38. With the issue of Dec. 3, 1817, the paper was enlarged from quarto to folio. It was discontinued with the issue of Nov. 23, 1819, vol. 3, no. 52.

Middlebury College Lib. has Nov. 6, 1816-Nov. 23, 1819.

Sheldon Museum, Middlebury has Nov. 6, 1816-Nov. 17, 1817.

Vt. State Lib. has Dec. 3, 1817-Nov. 23, 1819.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 2, 1818-Nov. 23, 1819.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 2, 1819.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.

1818. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.

1819. Jan. 6 to Nov. 23.

[Middlebury] Columbian Patriot, 1813-1815.

Weekly. Established Sept. 1, 1813, by Bartimeus Ferguson, with the title of "Columbian Patriot." With the issue of Jan. 19, 1814, William Slade, Jun., was taken into partnership, under the firm name of Slade & Ferguson. With the issue of Feb. 22, 1815, the partnership was dissolved and William Slade, Jun., became sole publisher. The last issue with this title was that of Aug. 23, 1815, vol. 2, no. 52, after which the title was changed to "National Standard," which see.

Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, has Aug. 31, 1814-Aug. 23, 1815.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 1, 1813.

Mass. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 27, Nov. 3, 1813; Jan. 26, 1814.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 8, 1813; Mar. 22, 1815.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has June 7, 1815.

A. A. S. has:

1813. Sept. 1, 8, 15.
Dec. 15, 22, 29.
1814. Jan. 12, 19.
Feb. 23.
Mar. 9, 30.
Apr. 13^m, 20, 27.
May 4, 11.
June 1.
July 6, 13.
Aug. 17^m, 24.
Sept. 14^m, 21.
Dec. 7, 28.
1815. Jan. 11.
Apr. 5, 19, 26.
June 7.
July 5.

Middlebury Mercury, 1801-1810.

Weekly. Established Dec. 16, 1801, by Huntington & Fitch [Joseph D. Huntington and John Fitch], with the title of "Middlebury Mercury." With the issue of May 7, 1806, Fitch retired and J. D. Huntington became sole publisher. The paper was discontinued with the issue of July 4, 1810, vol. 9, no. 31.

Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, has Dec. 16, 1801-Nov. 29, 1806.

Harvard has Dec. 16, 1801-Nov. 27, 1805, fair.

Middlebury College Lib. has Dec. 6, 1809-June 13, 1810.

Lib. Congress has Jan. 1, July 10-24, 1805.

Vt. State Lib. has Sept. 13, 1809; Mar. 10, 1810.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has June 27, 1810.

A. A. S. has:

1801. Dec. 16.
1802. June 2^m.
July 14^m.
Aug. 4.
Nov. 24.
1803. Mar. 16.
July 20.
Sept. 21.

1804. Jan. 11.
Mar. 7.
1806. May 28.
Oct. 1, 8^m.
Dec. 10.
1807. Apr. 8.
Aug. 12.
Sept. 30.
1808. Jan. 27^m.
June 15^m.
Aug. 24, 31.
Sept. 7.
1809. May 31.
Aug. 23.
1810. Jan. 31.
Mar. 14.
July 4.

[Middlebury] *National Standard*, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Columbian Patriot." The first issue with the title of "National Standard" was that of Aug. 30, 1815, vol. 3, no. 1, published by William Slade, Jun. With the issue of Dec. 11, 1816, the name of Charles G. Haines also appeared as editor. With the issue of Feb. 26, 1817, it was published by F[rederick] P. Allen and edited by Ch. G. Haines. Haines's name disappeared from the imprint with the issue of Mar. 19, 1817. At some time between Feb. 18 and May 6, 1818, J[] W. Copeland became the publisher, but with the issue of Aug. 25, 1819, took F. P. Allen into partnership under the firm name of Copeland & Allen. It was so continued until after 1820.

Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, has Aug. 30, 1815-Feb. 18, 1818; Oct. 21, 1818-Dec. 26, 1820.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc., Cleveland, has Aug. 30, 1815-Aug. 21, 1816.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 13, 1815; Mar. 26, 1817; Jan. 6, 1819-Dec. 26, 1820.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has May 8, 1816; Nov. 23, 1819.

Vt. State Lib. has Dec. 27, 1815; Oct. 24, 1820.

A. A. S. has:

1815. Sept. 13^m.
 Oct. 8, 15.
 Nov. 29.
 Dec. 27.
1816. Mar. 13.
 May 15, 22.
 June 12.
 July 17^m, 31.
 Aug. 7, 14, 21, 28.
 Oct. 23, 30.
 Nov. 13.
1818. May 6.
 Sept. 9.
1820. May 23.

[Middlebury] Religious Reporter, 1820.

Weekly. Established Apr. 8, 1820, with the title of "Religious Reporter," published by Copeland & Allen [J— W. Copeland and Frederick P. Allen], at the office of the "National Standard." The last issue located is that of Sept. 23, 1820, vol. 1, no. 25.

Middlebury College Lib. has Apr. 8-Sept. 23, 1820.

[Middlebury] Vermont Mirror, 1812-1816.

Weekly. Established Sept. 30, 1812, with the title of "The Vermont Mirror," published by Samuel Swift and printed by Timothy C. Strong. With the issue of June 9, 1813, it was published by Swift & Fillmore [Samuel Swift and Lavius Fillmore, Jun.], with Timothy C. Strong as printer. With the issue of Mar. 30, 1814, it was transferred to and published by T. C. Strong. Charles Davis was the editor, although his name did not appear in the imprint. The last issue was that of Sept. 18, 1816, vol. 4, no. 52, after which Strong started the "Christian Herald."

Middlebury College Lib. has Sept. 30, 1812-Aug. 14, 1816; Aug. 28, Sept. 11, 1816.

Sheldon Museum, Middlebury has Sept. 30, 1812-Sept. 22, 1813.

Dartmouth has Jan. 6, 13, 27, Feb. 17, 24, Mar. 10-24, Apr. 7, 23, Aug. 18, 25, Sept. 8, Oct. 6, 27-Dec. 1, 15-29,

1813; Jan. 5-Feb. 16, Mar. 9, 30, Apr. 6, May 4-25, June 8-29, July 13-Aug. 3, 24, Sept. 7-28, Oct. 12, 26, Nov. 9-30, Dec. 14, 21, 1814; Jan. 4-Feb. 22, Mar. 8-Apr. 12, 26-May 24, 1815.

Burlington Pub. Lib. has Sept. 30, Oct. 7, Nov. 4, Dec. 2, 16, 30, 1812; Jan. 6-20, Feb. 10, 17, 1813.

Vt. State Lib. has Sept. 30, 1812.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has Sept. 4, 1816.

A. A. S. has:

1812. Sept. 30.

Oct. 18, 25.

1813. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.

Mutilated: May 5, Oct. 6.

Missing: Jan. 6, 20, 27, Feb. 3-Apr. 28,
June 2, 9, 23, Aug. 18, Sept. 22, Dec. 8.

1814. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.

Mutilated: Sept. 7.

Missing: Mar. 30, Apr. 6, 13, 20, June 1,
8, 22, 29, Sept. 14, 21, 28, Oct. 12-26,
Nov. 9-Dec. 28.

1815. Oct. 11.

1816. Jan. 3 to Sept. 18.

Missing: July 10, Aug. 21, 28, Sept. 11.

[Montpelier] Freeman's Press, 1809-1812.

Weekly. Established Aug. 25, 1809, with the title of "Freemen's Press," printed for the Proprietors, by Derick Sibley. In January 1811 Sereno Wright joined Sibley and the paper was published by Wright, Sibley & Co., changed in the fall of 1811 to Wright & Sibley. The last issue located is that of June 18, 1812, vol. 3, no. 147.

Boston Pub. Lib. has Sept. 8, 1809-June 29, 1810, fair; July 6, Aug. 8, Sept. 6, 1810; Jan. 1, 31-Mar. 28, Apr. 11, May 2, 9, 23, 30, June 20, 24, July 25, Nov. 14-Dec. 12, 1811.

Vt. State Lib. has Jan. 31-Feb. 14, 28-Mar. 14, 28, Apr. 4, May 9-23, June 6-20, July 4, 11, 1811; Jan. 30, Apr. 25, June 18, 1812.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 5, 1812.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Aug. 25.

- Dec. 22.
 1810. July 12.
 Oct. 16.
 1811. Mar. 14.

[Montpelier] Precursor, see Vermont Precursor.

[Montpelier] Vermont Precursor, 1806-1807.

Weekly. Established Nov. 22, 1806, with the title of "Vermont Precursor," published by Clark Brown, for him and Josiah Parks. With the issue of Jan. 26, 1807, the title was changed to "The Precursor." With the issue of Mar. 9, 1807, Parks retired and the paper was printed for Clark Brown, the Editor. The issues in May and June bore no imprint, but with July 3, 1807, Samuel Goss became sole publisher, changing the title back to "Vermont Precursor." The last issue with this title was that of Nov. 13, 1807, vol. 1, no. 52, after which the title was changed to "The Watchman," which see.

Harvard has Jan. 12, 19, Mar. 9, 23, 30, June 22-July 10, 24, 31, Aug. 14, 21, Sept. 4, 25, Oct. 23, Nov. 13, 1807.

Vt. State Lib. has July 3, 24, Aug. 14, 28, Sept. 11, Oct. 2, 9, 23, 30, 1807.

Univ. of Vt. has May 18, 1807.

A. A. S. has:

1806. Nov. 22 to Dec. 29.

Mutilated: Dec. 13.

1807. Jan. 5 to Nov. 13.

Mutilated: Mar. 16.

Missing: Jan. 12, Mar. 2, 30, Apr. 6, May 4, 11, 25, June 1, 8, 15, 22.

[Montpelier] Watchman, 1807-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Vermont Precursor." The first issue with the title of "The Watchman" was that of Nov. 20, 1807, vol. 2, no. 53, published by Samuel Goss. With the issue of Oct. 16, 1810, Samuel Goss disposed of the paper to his brother Mark Goss and Ezekiel P. Walton, who published it under the name of Walton & Goss. In 1816 Mark Goss retired and E. P. Walton became sole publisher and so continued until after 1820.

Vt. State Lib. has Nov. 20, Dec. 18, 25, 1807; Jan. 1, 29, Mar. 18-Apr. 8, 29, May 20, June 24, July 8, Aug. 19, Sept. 2, 9, 23, Oct. 7, Nov. 4, 1808; Jan. 1, 1811; Apr. 16, 1812; Nov. 21, 1815; Aug. 19, 1817.

Harvard has Jan. 15, July 15-Aug. 5, 1808.

Univ. of Vt. Lib. has Jan. 8, 1808; June 23, Aug. 25, 1809.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 23, Oct. 7, 1808; Oct. 26, 1819.

Fairbanks Museum, St. Johnsbury, has May 26, June 2, 16, July 14, Sept. 22, 1809.

N. Y. State Lib. has July 26, 1810.

Yale has Aug. 2, 1810.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 28, 1813.

Me. Hist. Soc. has May 21, 1816.

Boston Athenaeum has Apr. 22, 1817; Jan. 19, Dec. 7, 14, 1819.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 15, 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1807. Nov. 20.

Dec. 4, 11, 18, 25.

1808. Jan. 1 to Nov. 11.

Missing: Feb. 12, 19, July 1, Aug. 5.

1810. Jan. 19.

Feb. 16, 23, 30.

Apr. 6.

June 28.

July 12.

Aug. 9.

Oct. 16, 23.

1811. Feb. 21, 28.

Apr. 11.

June 20.

Nov. 28.

1814. Mar. 17, 31^m.

May 26.

1815. Mar. 7.

1816. May 21.

1817. June 10.

1818. May 12, 19.

June 9.

Dec. 29.

1819. Feb. 9^m.
 Mar. 23.
 May 25^m.
 1820. Apr. 4.

[Newbury] **Orange Nightingale**, 1796-1797.

Weekly. Established May 12, 1796, by Nathaniel Coverly, Jun'r, with the title of "The Orange Nightingale, and Newbury Morning Star." At some time between July 1796 and May 1797, the title was changed to "Orange Nightingale, and New-Hampshire Advertiser." The last issue located is that of Sept. 4, 1797, vol. 2, no. 18.

Harvard has May 19, June 30, 1796; May 22, June 5, July 3, Sept. 4, 1797.

[Peacham] **Green Mountain Patriot**, 1798-1807, 1809-1810.

Weekly. Established Feb. 23, 1798, by Farley & Goss [Amos Farley and Samuel Goss], with the title of "The Green Mountain Patriot." With the issue of Apr. 23, 1801, the partnership was dissolved, and Samuel Goss became sole publisher. With the issue of Feb. 3, 1807, the initial "The" was omitted from the title. The issue of May 26, 1807, vol. 10, no. 485, is the last located in this year. The Walpole "Political Observatory" of June 5, 1807 states "The Green Mountain Patriot, a federal newspaper printed at Peacham, Vt., is discontinued." Samuel Goss went to Montpelier to publish the "Vermont Precursor" July 3, 1807, later called "The Watchman," his name remaining in the imprint of the latter paper until Oct. 16, 1810. Evidently the paper was resumed in August 1809, judging from the volume numbering of the only later issue located, that of Jan. 27, 1810, vol. 10, no. 510, published by Samuel Goss, with the title of "Green Mountain Patriot."

Woodstock Pub. Lib. has Feb. 21, 1799-Dec. 30, 1801.

Harvard has Feb. 28, June 6, 13, July 18, 25, 1799.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Mar. 28, Apr. 24, 1799.

Fairbanks Museum, St. Johnsbury, has Apr. 11, 1799.

Lib. Congress has July 28, Sept. 8, 1802.

St. Johnsbury Athenaeum has Apr. 11, 1806.

A. A. S. has:

1798. Feb. 23 to Dec. 28.

1799. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
Mutilated: Feb. 28, Sept. 26.
Missing: Jan. 25, June 20, July 4.
1800. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.
Mutilated: Feb. 12.
1801. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.
Extra: June 11, 18, 25, July 2.
Mutilated: July 9.
1802. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Mutilated: Feb. 3.
Missing: Feb. 10, Mar. 10.
1803. Jan. 5 to Dec. 27.
1804. Jan. 3 to Dec. 25.
Supplement: Nov. 20.
Missing: Feb. 14.
1805. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.
Missing: May 14, Sept. 10, Oct. 1.
1806. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.
Missing: Feb. 11, 18, Dec. 23.
1807. Jan. 6 to May 26.
Mutilated: May 26.
Missing: Mar. 24.
1810. Jan. 27.

[Putney] *Argus*, 1797-1799.

Weekly. Established Jan. 12, 1797, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Mar. 16, 1797, vol. 1, no. 10, published by Cornelius Sturtevant, Jun. & Co., with the title of "The Argus." On June 4, 1798, the partnership of Cornelius Sturtevant, Jun., Abijah Wilder and Elias Sturtevant was dissolved, and henceforth the paper was published by Cornelius Sturtevant. With the issue of either Oct. 27 or Nov. 3, 1798, the title was changed to "Putney Argus." The last issue located is that of Feb. 26, 1799, vol. 3, no. 7.

Harvard has Mar. 16, May 25-July 13, Sept. 4-25, Oct. 9-23, Nov. 13, Dec. 4, 18, 25, 1797; Jan. 2, 8, 22, 29, Mar. 4, 12, Apr. 30, May 21, June 14, 28, Aug. 9, 18, Sept. 8, Oct. 6, Nov. 3, 17, Dec. 4, 18, 25, 1798; Jan. 15, 22, Feb. 12, 1799.

Lib. Congress has May 18, 25, July 27, 1797; Sept. 22, Oct. 20, 1798.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has Mar. 30, 1797.

A. A. S. has:

1797. Mar. 30.
Apr. 13.
June 29.
July 13.
Aug. 3, 17, 28.
Sept. 11.
1798. Feb. 19.
Mar. 26.
May 14.
Sept. 15.
Nov. 10, 17.
Dec. 4, 11, 18.
1799. Jan. 1, 8, 15.
Feb. 5, 12, 26.

[Randolph] Weekly Wanderer, 1800-1810.

Weekly. Established Dec. 27, 1800, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 24, 1801, vol. 1, no. 5, published by Sereno Wright, with the title of "Weekly Wanderer." With the issue of June 27, 1801, J[ohn] Denio was admitted to partnership, under the firm name of S. Wright & J. Denio. With the issue of Apr. 17, 1802, Denio retired and Sereno Wright again became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Apr. 6, 1810, vol. 10, no. 19. In January 1811, Wright went to Montpelier to aid in publishing the "Freemen's Press."

Vt. State Lib. has Jan. 24-Feb. 21, Mar. 7-28, Apr. 11, May 2, 16, 23, June 20, July 25, Aug. 8, 1801; Feb. 20, Mar. 13, 20, Apr. 10, 24, May 8, July 10-Sept. 18, Oct. 9-Nov. 27, Dec. 25, 1802; Jan. 1, 1803-Nov. 21, 1808; June 30-Aug. 4, Sept. 8-22, 1809.

Harvard has Dec. 19, 1801-Dec. 23, 1805, fair; Dec. 15, 1806; Mar. 2, 1807.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 9, Sept. 17, 1804; Mar. 10, 24, Apr. 21, 1809.

Fairbanks Museum, St. Johnsbury, has Apr. 23, 30, May 14, 28, June 4, 18, Aug. 6, 1804.

Lib. Congress has May 21, 1803; June 16, 1809.
 Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has Apr. 11, May 2, 30,
 1808.

A. A. S. has:

1801. Apr. 11, 18, 25.
 May 2^m, 9, 16, 23, 30.
 June 6, 13, 20, 27.
 July 4, 11, 18, 25^m.
 Aug. 1.
1802. Mar. 27^m.
 May 15.
 June 5, 12, 19.
 July 10, 17.
 Aug. 14, 28.
 Sept. 4, 11, 18^m.
1803. May 7^m, 14.
 June 11^m, 18^m.
 July 9.
 Aug. 13, 20, 27.
 Sept. 3, 10.
 Nov. 16, 30.
 Dec. 7, 28.
1804. June 18.
 Oct. 29.
 Dec. 24, 31.
1805. Feb. 4.
 Apr. 22.
 Aug. 19.
 Dec. 2, 9.
1806. Jan. 6.
 Mar. 3.
 May 5, 12.
 July 7, 21, 28.
 Aug. 4, 11, 18.
 Sept. 1.
 Oct. 29.
 Dec. 8, 15, 22, 29.
1807. Jan. 5, 12, 19.
 Feb. 2, 9, 16, 23.
 Mar. 16.

- Apr. 6, 27.
 May 18, 25.
 June 15, 22.
 July 6, 20, 27.
 Aug. 24.
 Sept. 7, 28.
 Oct. 5, 12.
 Nov. 2, 16, 23.
 Dec. 28.
 1808. Jan. 4.
 Mar. 7, 14.
 Apr. 4, 11, 18, 25.
 May 2, 16, 23, 30.
 June 20.
 July 11.
 Aug. 29.
 Sept. 12.
 Oct. 10, 31^m.
 1809. Jan. 13.
 Feb. 3, 17, 24.
 Mar. 10, 24, 31^m.
 Apr. 14^m, 21, 28.
 May 5, 19^m.
 June 23.
 July 28.
 Aug. 11, 25.
 Sept. 1, 29.
 Oct. 6, 13^m.
 Dec. 8.
 1810. Jan. 12.
 Feb. 2, 23.
 Apr. 6.

[Rutland] Farmers' Library, 1793-1794.

Weekly. Established Apr. 1, 1793, by J[ames] Lyon, with the title of "The Farmers' Library: Or, Vermont Political & Historical Register." The last issue was that of Nov. 29, 1794, vol. 2, no. 35, when Lyon sold out to the Messrs. Williams who established "The Rutland Herald" in its stead.

Vt. State Lib. has Apr. 1, 1793-Mar. 19, 1794; Apr. 9-Nov. 29, 1794.

Rutland Free Lib. has Apr. 1, 1793.

N. Y. State Lib. has July 1, Sept. 2, 1793; July 29, Aug. 5, 1794.

A. A. S. has:

1793. Apr. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.

May 20, 27^m.

June 3, 10.

Oct. 14.

Nov. 11.

Supplement: Aug. 26, Oct. 14.

1794. Feb. 17.

Mar. 12, 19.

Apr. 16.

May 6.

Aug. 12, 19.

Sept. 23^m.

Rutland Herald, 1794-1820+.

Weekly. Established Dec. 8, 1794, with the title of "The Rutland Herald: Or, Vermont Mercury," published by Judge Samuel Williams and Rev. Samuel Williams, under the imprint of S. Williams & Co. With the issue of Dec. 15, 1794, it was printed by J[ames] Kirkaldie, for S. Williams, & Co. With the issue of June 29, 1795, the title was altered to "The Rutland Herald: a Register of the Times." Kirkaldie died Aug. 10, 1796, and with the issue of Aug. 15, 1796, the imprint became S. Williams, & Co., and with Oct. 3, 1796, John S. Hutchins for S. Williams, & Co. Judge Samuel Williams retired and with the issue of Jan. 9, 1797, the paper was printed for S[Rev. Samuel] Williams; with Feb. 20, 1797, by Josiah Fay, for S. Williams; with Feb. 27, 1797, by Josiah Fay, for Williams & Fay; with Sept. 4, 1797, by Josiah Fay, for S. Williams, & Co. [Samuel Williams and Josiah Fay]; and with Aug. 6, 1798, by Josiah Fay, for S. Williams. With the issue of Sept. 3, 1798, the title was shortened to "The Rutland Herald" and the imprint became Fay & Walker [Josiah

Fay and John Walker, Jun.], for S. Williams; with Sept. 17, 1798, John Walker, Jun. for S. Williams; with Nov. 4, 1799, printed for S. Williams; and with Jan. 20, 1800, William Fay, for Samuel Williams. There was no imprint from Aug. 4 to Nov. 17, 1800, with which latter issue it was printed for Samuel Williams; in April or May 1801 by William Fay, for Samuel Williams; with Oct. 25, 1802, by William Fay and Samuel Williams; with Nov. 22, 1802, by S. Williams & W. Fay; and in December 1804, by William Fay. With the issue of Jan. 1, 1803, the title was changed to "Rutland Herald," and with June 18, 1808, to "Rutland Vermont Herald," the word "Vermont" being centered above. With the issue of Jan. 13, 1813, the imprint became William Fay & Co.; with July 7, 1813, Fay & Davison [William Fay and Gideon M. Davison]; with Jan. 8, 1817, Fay, Davison & Burt [Charles Burt]; with Jan. 5, 1819, Fay & Burt; and with Apr. 18, 1820, William Fay, who continued the paper until after 1820.

Vt. State Lib. has Dec. 8, 1794-Dec. 29, 1800; Jan. 9-Dec. 17, 1808; Feb. 25, 1809-Sept. 12, 1810, fair; May 13, 1812.

Rutland Free Lib. has Dec. 8, 1794-Dec. 12, 1796; Nov. 17, Dec. 29, 1804; Feb. 9, Mar. 23, 1805; May 9-Aug. 8, 1807; Jan. 9, 1808; Apr. 3, 1811; Jan. 1-Dec. 24, 1817; Nov. 16, 1819-Nov. 7, 1820 (all office file on loan).

Harvard has Feb. 23, Mar. 9, 23, May 11, June 1-15, 1795; Dec. 28, 1795-Apr. 24, 1797; scattering file; Dec. 25, 1797; Jan. 1, 8, 1798; Jan. 21, Apr. 1, 1799; Nov. 16-Dec. 28, 1801; Jan. 4, 1802-Dec. 27, 1806, scattering file; Jan. 3, 10, 24, Feb. 7, 14, June 6, 13, Sept. 12, Nov. 21, 28, 1807; Feb. 20, July 30, Aug. 13, Sept. 10, Oct. 1-15, 29, Nov. 5, Dec. 24, 1808.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 1, 1803-Dec. 29, 1804; Dec. 23, 30, 1812; Jan. 6, May 12, 1813; Aug. 30, 1815.

Lib. Congress has Mar. 9, Sept. 7, Nov. 16, 1795; Apr. 23, 1808; Nov. 8, 1809; Jan. 10, 1810-Dec. 15, 1813, fair; June 29, July 6, 27, Aug. 3, 17, 24, Sept. 28, Oct. 19, Nov. 9-Dec. 7, 21, 1814; Apr. 5, 26, June 14, 21, Aug. 16, 23,

Sept. 6, Oct. 18, Nov. 1, Dec. 13, 1815; Jan. 31, 1816-
Dec. 19, 1820, scattering file.

Phil. Lib. Co. has Nov. 1, 16-30, 1795; Jan. 25, Mar.
14, 21, Apr. 4-25, May 16, 30, July 11-Aug. 1, 1796.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Dec. 8, 1794; Jan. 1, 1806; Mar. 25,
1812; June 6, July 25, 1820.

N. Y. State Lib. has Dec. 15, 22, 1794; Oct. 26, 1795.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has Aug. 17, 1795; Oct.
5, 1814; Aug. 8, Dec. 5, 12, 1820.

Burlington Pub. Lib. has Oct. 27, Nov. 10, Dec. 1, 29,
1800; Jan. 5-Feb. 9, May 11, June 15-July 6, 1801.

Long Id. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 9, 1801.

Univ. of Vt. Lib. has Apr. 2-16, 1803.

Univ. of Chicago has Dec. 24, 1808.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 22, 1815.

Many libraries have fac-simile of Dec. 8, 1794.

A. A. S. has:

1794. Dec. 8 (fac-sim.), 22, 29.

1795. Jan. 12.

Feb. 9.

Mar. 9, 30.

Apr. 6, 27.

May 11.

July 20, 27.

Aug. 10, 17, 31.

Sept. 21.

Oct. 5^m.

Nov. 9^m, 16, 23.

1796. May 9.

June 6, 27.

July 4^m, 18.

Aug. 15, 22^m.

Sept. 19.

Oct. 10, 17, 24, 31.

Nov. 14.

Dec. 5, 26.

1797. Jan. 16, 23, 30.

Feb. 6, 13, 20.

Mar. 5, 13, 20, 27^m.

- Apr. 10, 17, 24.
May 1, 8, 15^m, 22, 29^m.
June 5^m, 12, 19.
July 24.
Aug. 14, 21^m, 28.
Sept. 11, 18.
Oct. 2, 9, 30.
Nov. 6.
Dec. 4^m.
1798. Jan. 1, 8, 15.
Feb. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Apr. 2, 23, 30.
May 6, 14, 21.
June 10, 18, 25.
July 2.
Sept. 17.
Oct. 1^m, 8, 15, 22^m, 29.
Nov. 5, 12, 19.
Dec. 3, 31.
1799. Jan. 21^m.
Feb. 4^m.
Mar. 18.
June 3.
1800. Apr. 7.
1803. Aug. 20^m.
Sept. 3^m, 10.
1804. Apr. 14.
Sept. 8.
1807. July 4.
Sept. 12.
1808. June 25.
Aug. 13^m.
Oct. 8.
Nov. 5.
Dec. 10.
1809. Jan. 21, 28.
Feb. 4, 18, 25.
Mar. 11, 18, 25.
Apr. 1, 8.

- May 6^m.
June 3, 24.
July 1, 22, 29.
Aug. 19.
Oct. 7, 18.
Nov. 8, 22, 29.
Dec. 6^m, 13.
1810. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.
Mutilated: Feb. 14; June 6, 20, July 18,
Sept. 19, Nov. 14.
Missing: Jan. 3, July 11.
1811. Jan. 9, 16, 23.
Feb. 13, 20.
Mar 6.
Apr. 3, 24.
May 8.
June 12.
July 17.
Aug. 14.
Nov. 6, 13, 20, 27.
Dec. 4.
1812. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.
Mutilated: Jan. 1, Nov. 25.
Missing: July 1, Sept. 2, 16, 23, Dec. 30.
1813. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Mutilated: Jan. 6, 13, 20, Apr. 21, 28, July
14, 28, Aug. 25.
Missing: Sept. 22-Oct. 27, Nov. 10, 24,
Dec. 1, 8.
1814. Jan. 5, 19.
Feb. 2, 9, 16, 23^m.
Mar. 23.
Apr. 13.
May 11.
June 15^m, 29.
July 6, 20.
Oct. 5, 12, 19.
Nov. 9.
1815. Jan. 11.

- Mar. 15.
 Apr. 5.
 Aug. 30.
 1816. Apr. 24.
 May 1, 8, 15.
 Dec. 25.
 1817. Jan. 8.
 1818. Nov. 10, 17, 24.
 Dec. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
 1819. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
 Missing: Oct. 5.
 1820. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
 Mutilated: Jan. 11, Mar. 14, Aug. 22.
 Missing: Jan. 25, Feb. 29, Mar. 7, Apr. 4,
 May 2, July 4, 11, Dec. 19.

[Rutland] *Herald of Vermont*, 1792.

Weekly. Established June 25, 1792, by Anthony Haswell, with the title of "The Herald of Vermont, or, Rutland Courier." There were frequent changes in the punctuation of the title. The last issue located is that of Sept. 10, 1792, vol. 1, no. 12. The office was destroyed by fire Sept. 17, 1792 (see Windsor "Morning Ray," Sept. 25, 1792).

Vt. State Lib. has June 25-Sept. 10, 1792.

Harvard has July 2, 1792.

Rutland Free Lib. has July 2, 1792.

Yale has Aug. 20, 1792.

A. A. S. has:

1792. July 2, 16^m, 23, 30.

Aug. 13.

Sept. 3, 10.

[Rutland] *Vermont Courier*, 1808-1810.

Weekly. Established July 25, 1808, by Thomas M. Pomroy, with the title of "Vermont Courier." It was discontinued with the issue of May 30, 1810, vol. 2, no. 98, when Pomroy went to Windsor to aid in establishing "The Washingtonian."

Vt. State Lib. has July 25, 1808-May 30, 1810.

Harvard has Aug. 22, Sept. 26, 1808.

A. A. S. has:

1808. July 25.

Aug. 1, 8.

1809. Feb. 13^m.

Apr. 22.

July 8^m.

July 22 to Dec. 27.

Mutilated: July 22, 29, Aug. 5.

1810. Jan. 3 to May 30.

Missing: Mar. 21.

Rutland Vermont Herald, see Rutland Herald.

[Rutland] Vermont Mercury, 1802-1804.

Weekly. Established Mar. 1, 1802, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Mar. 29, 1802, vol. 1, no. 5, published by Stephen Hodgman, with the title of "Vermont Mercury." On Apr. 5 or 12, 1802, the word "Republican" was inserted in the center and above the title. The issue of Mar. 12, 1804, vol. 2, no. 104, is the last located.

Harvard has Mar. 29, 1802-Mar. 12, 1804, fair.

Univ. of Vt. Lib. has Jan. 17, 1803.

A. A. S. has:

1803. Aug. 8.

Oct. 24.

1804. Jan. 9, 16, 30.

Feb. 27.

Mar. 12.

St. Albans Adviser, 1808.

Weekly. Established Mar. 10, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Mar. 31, 1808, vol. 1, no. 4, published by Rufus Allen, with the title of "St. Albans Adviser." The last issue located is that of July 21, 1808, vol. 1, no. 20.

Harvard has June 9, 1808.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has July 14, 21, 1808.

A. A. S. has:

1808. Mar. 31.

Apr. 21.

[St. Albans] Champlain Reporter, 1809-1810.

Weekly. Established Apr. 27, 1809, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of May 11, 1809, vol. 1, no. 3, published by Morton & Willard [Abner Morton and Ambrose Willard], with the title of "Champlain Reporter." At some time between Sept. 21, 1809 and June 28, 1810, Morton retired and Ambrose Willard became sole publisher. The issue of June 28, 1810, vol. 2, no. 10, is the last located, and in the following month the paper was succeeded by the "Franklin County Advertiser," which see.

Boston Athenaeum has May 11, 1809.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Sept. 21.

1810. June 28.

[St. Albans] Franklin County Advertiser, 1810-1811.

Weekly. Established July 19, 1810, by Morton & Whitney [Abner Morton and Harry Whitney], with the title of "Franklin County Advertiser." It succeeded the "Champlain Reporter," continuing its advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. With the issue of Oct. 29, 1810, vol. 1, no. 15, the last located, the partnership was dissolved and Harry Whitney became sole publisher. The paper was discontinued in the spring of 1811, and the presses removed to Plattsburgh, N. Y., to start the "Republican" there, Apr. 12, 1811 (see clipping in N. Y. State Lib. file of Plattsburgh "Republican").

A. A. S. has:

1810. July 26.

Aug. 9, 23.

Oct. 4, 29.

Vergennes Gazette, 1798-1801.

Weekly. Established Aug. 30, 1798, by G[eorge] & R[obert] Waite, with the title of "The Vergennes Gazette

and Vermont and New-York Advertiser." In November 1798, the Waites suddenly departed, and with the issue of Nov. 29, 1798, after a suspension of two weeks, the paper was published for Samuel Chipman, Jun. With the issue of Aug. 21, 1800, the publishing firm became Samuel Chipman, Jun. & William Fessenden. The last issue located is that of Oct. 8, 1801, vol. 4, no. 161. On Oct. 27, 1801, the printing-office was destroyed by fire (see Burlington "Vermont Centinel," Oct. 29, 1801).

Dartmouth has Aug. 30, 1798-Oct. 8, 1801, fair.

Vt. State Lib. has Nov. 28, Dec. 5, 1799; Jan. 2, 1800-Sept. 24, 1801, fair.

Harvard has May 16, June 20, Nov. 14, 1799; May 22, 29, July 17, 1800; Sept. 18, 1800-Sept. 10, 1801, scattering file.

Phil. Lib. Co. has Sept. 27, 1798.

Lib. Congress has Jan. 2, 9, 1800; Feb. 26, 1801.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 28, 1800.

A. A. S. has:

1798. Nov. 1.

Dec. 12, 27.

1799. Jan. 3, 10, 17^m.

Mar. 7, 14, 21.

May 16, 23^m.

Oct. 10.

1800. Mar. 27.

May 29^m.

Oct. 16.

[Westminster] *Vermont Chronicle*, 1796.

Weekly. Established July 4, 1796, by John Goold, Jun., with the title of "The Vermont Chronicle, and the Windham Advertiser." The last issue located is that of Oct. 17, 1796, vol. 1, no. [16].

Harvard has July 4, 11, 25-Aug. 15, 1796.

A. A. S. has:

1796. Sept. 19^m.

Oct. 3^m, 17^m.

[Westminster] Vermont Gazette, 1780-1781.

Weekly. Established Dec. 14, 1780, according to a statement in "The Vermont Almanac" for 1796, printed at Rutland (copy in Amer. Antiq. Soc.), as follows: "In Vermont the first piece that was printed was a newspaper at Westminster, by Judah P. Spooner and Timothy Green, entitled, 'The Vermont Gazette, and Green Mountain Post-Boy,' dated Thursday, Dec. 14, 1780." There must have been omissions between this date and the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 2, 1781, vol. 1, no. 8, published by Judah Paddock Spooner & Timothy Green, with the title of "The Vermont Gazette, or, Green-Mountain Post-Boy." The only other issue located is that of July 9, 1781, vol. 1, no. 20.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 2, 1781.

A. A. S. has:

1781. July 9.

Windsor Federal Gazette, 1801-1804.

Weekly. Established Mar. 3, 1801, by Nahum Mower, with the title of "Windsor Federal Gazette," the word "Federal" being printed in small type in an ornamental head-piece. The last number was that of Dec. 25, 1804, vol. 4, no. 199, when the paper was succeeded by "The Post-Boy," which see.

Windsor Pub. Lib. has Mar. 3, 1801-Dec. 25, 1804.

Dartmouth has Mar. 3, 1801-Dec. 25, 1804.

Vt. State Lib. has July 6-27, Sept. 7-28, 1802; Mar. 1, 1803-Dec. 25, 1804.

Harvard has Mar. 3-Dec. 29, 1801, fair; Jan. 19, Feb. 16, Mar. 16, July 6, 1802; Feb. 1, 15, Mar. 22, Apr. 12, June 28, July 5, 19, Aug. 2, 16, 1803.

Woodstock Pub. Lib. has Apr. 27, June 8, July 13, Aug. 10, 31, Sept. 21, Oct. 12, 19, Nov. 9, 16, 1802; Jan. 25-Dec. 27, 1803, fair; Feb. 21, Mar. 20, Apr. 3, June 19, 26, July 17, Oct. 9, 16, 1804.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has Apr. 20, June 8, 15, 29, Aug. 3, 17-31, Oct. 5, Nov. 2, 9, 1802; Jan. 25, Feb. 8, Mar. 1, 22, 29, Apr. 5, 12, 26, May 10, 17, 31, June 7, 21, 28, July 12, 19, Aug. 16, Dec. 6, 1803; Sept. 11, 1804.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 7, 1801.

Lib. Congress has May 5, 1801; Jan. 25, 1803.

Colgate Lib., Hamilton, has Jan. 3, 1804.

A. A. S. has:

1801. Mar. 10.

July 30.

Aug. 25.

Sept. 15.

Oct. 13.

Nov. 3.

1802. Mar. 16 to Dec. 28.

Mutilated: Oct. 26, Dec. 7.

Missing: Mar. 30, Apr. 6, May 11, 25, June 1, July 6, 20, 27, Sept. 21.

1803. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.

Mutilated: Jan. 11, 18, Nov. 29, Dec. 20.

Missing: Aug. 9, Sept. 20-Nov. 15, Dec. 13, 27.

1804. Jan. 3 to Dec. 25.

Mutilated: May 15, July 17, Nov. 13, Dec. 11.

Missing: Jan. 3, 17, 24, 31, Feb. 7, Apr. 17, June 5, Oct. 16, Nov. 6, Dec. 18.

Windsor Gazette, see Windsor Federal Gazette.

[Windsor] Morning Ray, 1791-1792.

Weekly. Established Oct. 25, 1791, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 15, 1791, vol. 1, no. 4, published by Hutchins & Spooner [James R. Hutchins and John Spooner], with the title of "The Morning Ray: or, Impartial Oracle." With the issue of Mar. 27, 1792, the partnership was dissolved and James Reed Hutchins became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Sept. 25, 1792, vol. 1, no. 49.

Boston Pub. Lib. has Nov. 22, 1791.

Mass. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 7, Mar. 6, 13, 1792.

Harvard has Mar. 13, May 15, Sept. 11, 1792.

A. A. S. has:

1791. Nov. 15, 22, 29.

- Dec. 6, 20.
 1792. Jan. 3, 17.
 Feb. 7, 21, 28^m.
 Mar. 6, 13, 27.
 May 15, 22, 29.
 June 5, 12.
 July 10, 17, 24.
 Sept. 4, 18, 25.

[Windsor] Post-Boy, 1805-1807.

Weekly. Established Jan. 1, 1805, by Nahum Mower, with the title of "The Post-Boy, and Vermont & New-Hampshire Federal Courier." It was of quarto size, with pagination and eight pages to an issue. With the issue of Jan. 7, 1806, the title was shortened to "The Post-Boy." The paper was discontinued with the issue of Mar. 31, 1807, vol. 3, no. 13. Vol. 1 and 2 each had a title-page and index.

Lib. Congress has Jan. 1, 1805-Dec. 30, 1806.

Dartmouth has Jan. 1, 1805-Dec. 30, 1806.

Windsor Pub. Lib. has Jan. 1, 1805-Dec. 23, 1806.

Woodstock Pub. Lib. has Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1805.

N. H. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 1-Dec. 24, 1805.

Vt. State Lib. has Jan. 15-Feb. 5, 19, Apr. 2, 16, 30, May 28, July 16, Oct. 8-29, Nov. 26, 1805; Jan. 14, Mar. 4, Apr. 8-22, June 3, 10, July 1, 15, 22, Aug. 12, Sept. 2, 9, Nov. 11, Dec. 2, 1806.

N. Y. State Lib. has Mar. 5-Apr. 16, May 7, 28, June 18-July 2, 16, 23, Aug. 6-Oct. 8, 22-Nov. 12, 26, Dec. 17-31, 1805; Jan. 14, June 17, July 1, 8, Aug. 5, Sept. 2, Dec. 30, 1806.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 15-Mar. 26, July 2, 16, Aug. 6, 27, Sept. 10, Oct. 1-29, Nov. 12-26, 1805; Apr. 29, 1806.

Harvard has Aug. 26, Sept. 2, Oct. 7, 28, Nov. 4, 18, Dec. 2, 1806; Jan. 13-Feb. 3, Mar. 10, 24, 31, 1807.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 1-Mar. 5, 1805.

Univ. of Chicago has Jan. 7-Mar. 25, 1806.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has Jan. 7-Mar. 11, Dec. 23-30, 1806.

Univ. of Vt. Lib. has Jan. 14-Feb. 4, Apr. 29, 1806.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has May 28, 1805.

Boston Athenaeum has June 18, 1805.

Boston Pub. Lib. has Nov. 12, 1805.

A. A. S. has:

1805. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.

Title-page and index.

1806. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.

Title-page and index.

Mutilated: Mar. 11, June 3.

[Windsor] Spooner's Vermont Journal, 1792-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Vermont Journal." The first issue with the title of "Spooner's Vermont Journal" was that of Mar. 20, 1792, vol. 9, no. 451, published by Alden Spooner. With the issue of June 16, 1817, Alden Spooner took his nephew, Wyman, into partnership under the firm name of A. & W. Spooner. With the issue of Aug. 10, 1818, Alden Spooner retired and Wyman Spooner became sole publisher, changing the title to "Vermont Journal." It was so continued until after 1820.

Vt. State Lib. has Mar. 20, 1792-Feb. 18, 1811, fair; July 20, Nov. 30, Dec. 7, 1812; Jan. 4, June 28, Sept. 20, 1813; Mar. 7, 1814; May 20, July 22, 1816; Feb. 3, Mar. 3, 10, 1817; Aug. 14, 28, 1820.

Dartmouth has Sept. 24, 1792; Apr. 28, 1794; May 18, 1795-Feb. 29, 1796; Jan. 10, 1798-Dec. 31, 1799, fair; Jan. 7, 1800-June 25, 1810; July 12, Dec. 20, 1813; May 2, Dec. 5, 1814; Apr. 22-May 6, June 24, July 8-Dec. 23, 1816, fair; Jan. 6, 20-Feb. 10, 24, Mar. 10, 24-Apr. 7, 28, May 26, June 16, July 14, Aug. 11, 25, Sept. 22, Nov. 3, Dec. 1, 1817; Jan. 5, Feb. 9, Mar. 2, 30, Apr. 6, 20, May 25, June 22-Dec. 14, 1818, fair; Feb. 15-Mar. 1, 29, Apr. 12-May 10, 1819.

Woodstock Pub. Lib. has Nov. 11, 1793-July 8, 1796, fair; July 21, 1797-Feb. 7, 1798; May 16, Aug. 14, 28, 1798; Jan. 28, 1800-Dec. 27, 1803, scattering file; Aug. 28, Sept. 25, 1804; Jan. 13, 1806-Nov. 28, 1808; Mar. 8 1819-Dec. 27, 1819, scattering file; Jan. 3-Dec. 25, 1820

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has July 31, Aug. 7, Sept. 10, 24, Oct. 15, Dec. 3, 1792; Feb. 4-Nov. 25, 1793, fair; July 7, 1794-Dec. 21, 1795, fair; Apr. 29, June 24, July 1, 22, Aug. 19, Sept. 2, Oct. 14, Dec. 2, 9, 1796; Jan. 20, Feb. 17, 24, Apr. 28, Oct. 20, 1797; Jan. 3, 1798; Aug. 23, Sept. 6, 1803; Apr. 27, 1807-June 6, 1808, fair.

Harvard has Dec. 8, 1794; Feb. 2, 23, 1795; Sept. 16, 1796; Mar. 17, Apr. 7, 14, 1797; July 28, 1797-Nov. 20, 1798, scattering file; Jan. 1, 15, Feb. 5, Apr. 2, Aug. 20, Oct. 29, 1799; Aug. 19, 26, Sept. 16, 1800; Jan. 12, 19, Feb. 2, Sept. 29, Oct. 20, Nov. 17-Dec. 1, 15-29, 1801; Jan. 5, 1802-June 29, 1807, fair; Nov. 13, 1807.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 24, 1793-Dec. 28, 1795; Apr. 3, 1804.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 7-Dec. 25, 1798; Jan. 6, 1811-Dec. 27, 1813; Dec. 14, 1818; Jan. 10-Dec. 25, 1820.

Lib. Congress has Nov. 23, 1793; Jan. 8, 1799; Apr. 19, Oct. 25, 1803; Mar. 19, 26, May 14, Oct. 29, 1805; Jan. 12, May 4, June 8, Sept. 28, Oct. 19, 26, 1807; Feb. 8, Nov. 28, 1808; July 24, Nov. 7, Dec. 4, 1809; Jan. 22, Feb. 12, 19, Apr. 16-Dec. 31, 1810, scattering; Jan. 6, 21-Feb. 11, Dec. 9, 1811; Aug. 31, 1812-Apr. 26, 1813, fair; Mar. 21-Oct. 31, 1814, fair; Dec. 11, 1815; Jan. 6, 1817; Mar. 2, 16, Oct. 26, Nov. 2, Dec. 7-28, 1818.

Boston Pub. Lib. has Mar. 25, 1793; May 20, 1795; May 1, 1804-July 9, 1805, fair; Mar. 3-Dec. 29, 1806, scattering file.

Windsor Pub. Lib. has Jan. 1, 1805-Dec. 29, 1806; July 11, 1808-Dec. 24, 1810; Sept. 2, 1816; Jan. 19, 1818.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has July 24, 1792; Nov. 30, Dec. 14, 1802; May 21, 1805; May 30, 1808; Dec. 18, 1809; Aug. 5, 1811; Apr. 19, Sept. 20, 1819; May 29, June 12, 1820.

Long Id. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 29, 1800.

Univ. of Vt. Lib. has Apr. 5-19, 1803.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 29, 1806; Aug. 8, 1808.

Boston Athenaeum has Jan. 5, Dec. 28, 1807; May 15, 1809; Feb. 17, May 12, 1817.

N. Y. State Lib. has Aug. 27, 1810.

Brattleboro Free Lib. has Jan. 11, May 31, 1813.

Fairbanks Museum, St. Johnsbury, has Sept. 25, Oct. 9, Dec. 4, 1820.

A. A. S. has:

1792. Mar. 20 to Dec. 31.

Missing: Apr. 17.

1793. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.

Supplement: Oct. 7, 14.

Mutilated: Feb. 11, Aug. 12, 19, Dec. 23.

Missing: Sept. 9.

1794. Feb. 10.

Mar. 3.

Apr. 21, 28.

May 19.

June 30.

July 18.

Sept. 8, 22.

Oct. 13, 20, 27.

Nov. 3, 10, 24.

Dec. 8, 15, 22, 29.

1795. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.

Mutilated: May 11, June 8, Oct. 5, 12, 19.

Missing: Jan. 19, Feb. 2, 9, 16, Mar. 2, 9,

16, 30, Apr. 6, 20, Dec. 21.

1796. Feb. 1^m, 22^m.

Apr. 11.

May 13, 20, 27.

June 3, 10, 17, 24.

July 1, 8, 15^m, 22.

Aug. 5, 12.

Sept. 9, 30.

Oct. 14, 21.

Nov. 4, 18.

Dec. 30.

Supplement: Oct. 14.

1797. Jan. 6 to Dec. 27.

Missing: Jan. 13, Apr. 28, May 12, 19,

June 2, 9, 16.

1798. Jan. 3 to Dec. 25.

- Mutilated: Aug. 28.
Missing: Feb. 14.
1799. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.
Mutilated: May 7, Dec. 10.
Missing: Feb. 26, Mar. 5, 12, 19, Apr. 9,
16, June 25, Sept. 10, Nov. 5, 12, 19, Dec.
3, 24, 31.
1800. Jan. 7 to Dec. 29.
Mutilated: Jan. 7, Feb. 4, 25, Mar. 4.
Missing: Feb. 11, Mar. 18, Apr. 8, Aug. 19,
Nov. 17, 24.
1801. Jan. 5 to Dec. 29.
Supplement: Mar. 9, 30, Apr. 6, 13.
Mutilated: Mar. 30, May 25, June 1, 16,
30, July 28, Aug. 25, Sept. 15, 22, 29,
Oct. 6, 13, 20, Nov. 3, 17, Dec. 15.
Missing: Jan. 19, Aug. 18, Oct. 27, Nov. 10.
1802. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
Mutilated: Jan. 12, 26, Feb. 2, 16, 23, June
29, July 20, Aug. 10, 17, Oct. 19, 26.
Missing: Feb. 9, Mar. 2, May 4, 18, July
27, Oct. 12.
1803. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.
Mutilated: Oct. 25.
Missing: Dec. 27.
1804. Jan. 3 to Dec. 25.
1805. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.
Mutilated: July 2, 16, Nov. 25.
Missing: Jan. 1, 29, June 18, Oct. 15, Nov. 5.
1806. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
1807. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
Mutilated: Mar. 30, May 11, 18, Nov. 9,
Dec. 28.
Missing: Jan. 26, Feb. 16, May 4, 25, June
1, Sept. 7, 28.
1808. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
Mutilated: Jan. 4, Feb. 22, 29, Mar. 7,
14, 21, May 2, Sept. 5, 26, Oct. 3, Nov.
28.

- Missing: May 23, June 6, 20, July 4, Oct. 10, Nov. 21, Dec. 26.
1809. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.
1810. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.
Mutilated: Feb. 5, Aug. 13.
Missing: Jan. 22, Apr. 16, May 28, Sept. 17, Oct. 1, 22, Dec. 24.
1811. Jan. 6 to Dec. 30.
Mutilated: Feb. 25.
Missing: Jan. 21, Feb. 18, July 8, Aug. 26, Oct. 7, 14.
1812. Jan. 6 to Dec. 28.
Missing: July 13, Aug. 24.
1813. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.
Mutilated: Aug. 2.
Missing: Feb. 8, Apr. 19, May 31, Aug. 9.
1814. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.
Mutilated: Jan. 3, 17.
Missing: Jan. 10, July 18, Aug. 8, 15, 22, 29, Oct. 3, 10, 17, Nov. 7, Dec. 19.
1815. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.
Mutilated: July 17.
Missing: Jan. 30, Feb. 20, Apr. 17, May 8, 22, June 5, July 31, Aug. 7, 14, 28, Sept. 4, 11, Oct. 9, 16, 30, Nov. 13, 27, Dec. 25.
1816. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.
Missing: Jan. 8, Feb. 12, 19, June 10, July 1.
1817. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Mutilated: Apr. 14, 21, May 19, June 23, Sept. 1, Oct. 13.
Missing: Jan. 13, Feb. 17, June 30, July 28, Sept. 29, Nov. 24, Dec. 29.
1818. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
Mutilated: Jan. 26, Feb. 2, 23, Mar. 9, May 11, June 22.
Missing: Jan. 12, 19, July 27, Aug. 10, 17, 24, 31, Oct. 5, 26, Nov. 23.
1819. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.

Missing: Dec. 13.

1820. Jan. 3 to Dec. 25.

Mutilated: Sept. 4.

Missing: Oct. 16, 30.

[Windsor] **Vermont Journal**, 1783-1792.

Weekly. Established Aug. 7, 1783, by Hough and Spooner [George Hough and Alden Spooner] with the title of "The Vermont Journal, and the Universal Advertiser." With the issue of Dec. 29, 1788, Hough retired, and Alden Spooner became sole publisher. The last issue with this title was that of Mar. 13, 1792, vol. 9, no. 450, after which the title was changed to "Spooners Vermont Journal," which see.

Vt. State Lib. has Aug. 7, 1783-July 26, 1785; Feb. 7, 14, 28, Mar. 7, 28-Apr. 11, 25, May 29, June 19, 26, 1786; Aug. 14, 1786-Mar. 13, 1792.

Boston Athenaeum has Jan. 14, 21, Feb. 11, 18, July 7, Aug. 25, 1784; Jan. 17, June 26, Aug. 7, 21, Sept. 4, 18, 25, Oct. 16, 23, Nov. 6-Dec. 4, 18, 1786; Jan. 15-29, 1787.

Dartmouth has Nov. 6, Dec. 17, 1783; Apr. 12, May 10, 1785; Mar. 28, 1786; Aug. 5, 1789.

Mass. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 21, 1783.

N. Y. State Lib. has Dec. 3, 1783.

Woodstock Pub. Lib. has July 14, 1788.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has Mar. 17, 1790.

Boston Pub. Lib. has Nov. 16, 1790.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Nov. 15, 1791.

A. A. S. has:

1783. Oct. 2, 9, 23, 30.

Nov. 20, 27.

Dec. 24^m, 31.

1784. Jan. 7, 14, 28.

Mar. 17, 24.

Apr. 21^m.

May 5.

June 9, 23, 30.

July 14, 21.

Sept. 29.

1785. Feb. 22.
 Mar. 29.
 Apr. 5, 12.
 June 21, 28.
 July 5, 12.
 Aug. 16, 23, 30.
 Sept. 6.
 Oct. 25.
 Nov. 29.
1786. Feb. 7^m.
 Mar. 14.
 Apr. 11, 18.
 May 9, 29.
 June 5^m, 26.
 July 3, 17, 31.
 Aug. 21.
 Sept. 4, 11, 18, 25.
 Oct. 2, 16, 23.
 Nov. 6, 13.
 Dec. 25.
1787. Jan. 1^m, 8, 15.
 Mar. 19.
 Apr. 9, 23^m.
 Sept. 17.
 Oct. 22.
 Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26.
1788. Mar. 3, 31.
 Apr. 14, 21, 28^m.
 June 16.
 July 7, 14, 21.
 Aug. 4^m, 11^m, 18^m, 25^m.
 Sept. 1^m, 8^m, 15^m, 22, 29.
 Oct. 6, 13, 20.
 Nov. 3, 10, 17, 24.
 Dec. 2, 8, 15, 22, 29.
1789. Jan. 5 to Dec. 30.
 Supplement: May 25.
 Mutilated: Mar. 9.
 Missing: Apr. 20, May 18, Dec. 2, 30.

1790. Jan. 6 to Dec. 28.
Mutilated: Jan. 6, 13, 20, Apr. 7, July 27,
Aug. 24.
Missing: Feb. 10.
1791. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.
Mutilated: Jan. 25, Mar. 22, May 17, Aug.
2, Dec. 20.
Missing: Jan. 18, May 10, 24, 31, July 12,
Sept. 13, Oct. 18, Nov. 1, Dec. 13.
1792. Jan. 3 to Mar. 13.

[Windsor] *Vermont Journal*, 1818-1820, see *Spooner's Vermont Journal*.

[Windsor] *Vermont Republican*, 1809-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 2, 1809, with the title of "Vermont Republican," published by Oliver Farnsworth, for the Proprietors. With the issue of Jan. 1, 1810, Sylvester Churchill was taken into partnership, and the paper was printed by Farnsworth & Churchill, for the Proprietors. From Apr. 27, 1812 to Oct. 11, 1813, there was no imprint of any publisher; but the announcement was made that the firm was dissolved July 1, 1812, as Churchill had entered the service as a lieutenant of artillery, leaving Farnsworth as sole publisher. With the issue of Oct. 18, 1813, the imprint was resumed, published by Oliver Farnsworth, for the Proprietors. With the issue of Dec. 26, 1814, Farnsworth retired and the paper was published by Jesse Cochran. With the issue of Feb. 16, 1818, the paper was combined with the "American Yeoman" of Brattleboro, to form the "Vermont Republican and American Yeoman," published by Ide & Aldrich [Simeon Ide and Dunbar Aldrich]. With the issue of Dec. 21, 1818, the "&" in the title was changed to "and." The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Windsor Pub. Lib. has Jan. 2, 1809-Dec. 17, 1810; Mar. 23, 1812-Dec. 20, 1813; Jan. 16, Nov. 27, 1815; Apr. 8, 1816; June 17, 1816-Dec. 15, 1817; Feb. 16, 1818-Dec. 25, 1820.

Vt. State Lib. has Feb. 13, 1809; May 8, 1809-Sept. 10, 1810, fair; Jan. 20, 1812-Dec. 8, 1817, fair; Dec. 21, 1818; Jan. 4, 1819-Nov. 27, 1820.

Brattleboro Free Lib. has July 16, 1810-Nov. 21, 1814, fair; Feb. 20-Dec. 25, 1815, fair; Mar. 11, Apr. 8, 22-May 27, June 19, Sept. 2-Dec. 23, 1816; Feb. 2, 16, 23, Mar. 9, 16, Apr. 6, 13, 1818; June 26-Nov. 20, 1820, fair.

Woodstock Pub. Lib. has Jan. 16-Dec. 18, 1809; Feb. 18-Dec. 9, 1811; Nov. 17, 1817; Jan. 25, 1819.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has May 1, 1809-Apr. 30, 1810, fair.

Dartmouth has Sept. 4, 1809; June 11, 1810-Nov. 23, 1811, fair; Sept. 13, 1815.

Lib. Congress has Mar. 19, 1810; Apr. 6, 13, July 27, Dec. 14, 1812; Oct. 11, 1813; July 10, 1815; Apr. 13, June 1-Nov. 30, 1818, fair; Jan. 4, 1819-Dec. 25, 1820.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has Jan. 9, June 26, Sept. 4, Nov. 27, Dec. 11, 1809; Jan. 1, 15, 22, Apr. 16-30, May 28, June 25, Aug. 13, Sept. 24, 1810; Mar. 11, Apr. 15, July 22, Aug. 19, 26, Nov. 18, 1811; Jan. 4, 11, 1813.

Boston Pub. Lib. has Apr. 17-June 5, 26-July 31, Aug. 14, Sept. 18, Oct. 16-Nov. 6, 20, 27, 1809; Jan. 8-23, May 7, Aug. 6, Oct. 8, 22, 29, Nov. 12, 26, Dec. 3, 31, 1810; Jan. 7-21, 1811.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 23-Dec. 25, 1815; Jan. 1-Feb. 5, July 29, Aug. 5, Sept. 16, 30, Oct. 7, Nov. 11, 25, Dec. 9, 30, 1816.

N. Y. State Lib. has Aug. 13, Nov. 5, 12, Dec. 10, 1810; Jan. 14, Feb. 18, Sept. 30, 1811; Jan. 29, 1816.

Vt. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 4, 11, 1813.

Me. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 6, 1813.

Chicago Hist. Soc. has Apr. 28, 1817.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.

Mutilated: Oct. 30.

Missing: Jan. 16, Feb. 6, Apr. 17, 24, May 15-June 19, July 3, 17, 24, Aug. 14-Sept. 4, 18, Oct. 16, Nov. 13.

1810. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.

Mutilated: July 23.

- Missing: Jan. 29, Feb. 12, 19, Apr. 9,
June 11, 18, July 30, Aug. 20, Sept. 10,
Oct. 15, 29, Nov. 26, Dec. 3.
1811. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.
Supplement: Jan. 28, Dec. 2.
Missing: Jan. 7, 21, Feb. 11, 25, Mar. 18,
Apr. 1, June 17, July 8, Aug. 5, 12, Sept.
2, 30, Oct. 21, Dec. 9, 16, 30.
1812. Jan. 6 to Dec. 28.
Supplement: Mar. 30, Apr. 20, June 22, 29.
Missing: Jan. 6, 27, Feb. 17, Mar. 23, 30,
Apr. 13, May 4, 25, July 6, 20, Aug. 3, 10,
17, 24, Sept. 7, 21, 28, Oct. 5, Nov. 2, 9,
30, Dec. 7, 28.
1813. Jan. 4, 11, 25.
May 10, 17, 24.
June 7, 14.
July 19.
Aug. 2, 23.
Sept. 8.
Nov. 8, 22, 29.
Dec. 6.
1814. Feb. 7, 28.
Mar. 28.
Apr. 4, 25.
May 9, 16, 30.
June 6.
July 18, 25.
Aug. 22, 29.
Sept. 5, 26.
Dec. 26.
1815. Jan. 2.
Feb. 18.
Mar. 27.
Apr. 3, 10, 24.
May 1.
Aug. 7.
Sept. 4.
Oct. 23, 30.

- Nov. 27.
Dec. 4.
1816. Jan. 1, 8, 22.
May 6, 20.
July 22.
Aug. 12.
Oct. 14.
Nov. 4.
1817. Sept. 22^m.
Oct. 27.
Nov. 3^m, 10, 17, 24.
Dec. 1, 8, 15.
1818. Jan. 5^m, 12.
Mar. 2^m, 16.
June 1^m.
July 13.
Oct. 19^m.
Nov. 23.
Dec. 7, 21, 28.
Extra: Nov. 25.
1819. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.
1820. Jan. 3 to Dec. 25.
Mutilated: Mar. 13.
Missing: Dec. 18, 25.

[Windsor] *Washingtonian*, 1810-1816.

Weekly. Established July 23, 1810, with the title of "The *Washingtonian*," published by Josiah Dunham, and printed by Thomas M. Pomroy. With the issue of Jan. 3, 1814, Dunham retired and the paper was published by Thomas M. Pomroy. The last issue was that of Jan. 22, 1816, vol. 6, no. 289, when the paper was sold out to "Spooner's Vermont Journal."

Dartmouth has July 23, 1810-Dec. 20, 1814.

Lib. Congress has July 23, 1810-July 15, 1811; Apr. 20, 1812; June 28, 1813; Jan. 10, 1814-Jan. 8, 1816.

Woodstock Pub. Lib. has July 30, 1810-Dec. 26, 1814, fair.

Windsor Pub. Lib. has July 23, 1810-Dec. 27, 1813.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has July 23, 1810-Dec. 27, 1813.

N. Y. State Lib. has July 23, 1810-Dec. 27, 1813.

Vt. State Lib. has July 23, 1810-July 12, 1813; Feb. 7, May 16, June 13, Aug. 2, 1814.

Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, has Aug. 20, 1810-Feb. 24, 1812, fair.

Boston Pub. Lib. has June 23, 30, 1810; May 27, 1811-Sept. 12, 1814, fair; Apr. 10, July 10, 17, 31, Aug. 21-Sept. 4, 1815.

Brattleboro Free Lib. has Jan. 7, 1811-Oct. 23, 1815, scattering file.

Univ. of Michigan (Clements) has Sept. 3, 1810-Dec. 11, 1815, scattering issues.

Boston Athenaeum has Sept. 21, 1812.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Mar. 15, Apr. 26, May 24, 1813.

A. A. S. has:

1810. July 23 to Dec. 31.

1811. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.

1812. Jan. 6 to Dec. 28.

Extra: Aug. 10, 24.

1813. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.

Missing: Mar. 8.

1814. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.

Missing: Dec. 26.

1815. Jan. 2^m, 16^m, 23, 30.

Feb. 6, 13, 20, 27.

Mar. 6, 13, 20, 27.

May 8.

Aug. 28.

Sept. 11.

Oct. 9, 16, 23.

Nov. 27.

Dec. 4, 11, 18, 25.

1816. Jan. 1, 8, 22.

[Woodstock] Northern Memento, 1805-1806.

Weekly. Established May 16, 1805, by Isaiah H. Carpenter, with the title of "Northern Memento." The last issue located is that of Aug. 8, 1805, vol. 1, no. 13.

The "History of Windsor County," by Aldrich and Holmes, 1891, p. 214, states that it was discontinued in February 1806.

Harvard has May 23-July 4, 1805.

Lib. Congress has Aug. 8, 1805.

A. A. S. has:

1805. May 16, 30.

June 13.

Aug. 1.

Woodstock Observer, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 11, 1820, by David Watson, with the title of "Woodstock Observer," and so continued until after 1820.

Woodstock Pub. Lib. has Jan. 11-Dec. 26, 1820.

Vt. State Lib. has Jan. 11-Dec. 26, 1820.

A. A. S. has:

1820. Jan. 11 to Dec. 26.

Mutilated: Aug. 29.

Missing: Jan. 11-Apr. 18, June 27.

Vol. 35

NEW SERIES

PART 2

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER

OCTOBER 21, 1925



WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1926

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WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 21, 1925,
AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY, WORCESTER

THE annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was held at Antiquarian Hall, Worcester, Wednesday, October 21, 1925, at 10.45 o'clock a. m. The meeting was called to order by President Lincoln.

The following members of the Society were present: Reuben Colton, John McKinstry Merriam, William Eaton Foster, Francis Henshaw Dewey, William Trowbridge Forbes, George Henry Haynes, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, George Parker Winship, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Victor Hugo Paltsits, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Worthington Chauncey Ford, William Coolidge Lane, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Charles Grenfill Washburn, Samuel Bayard Woodward, George Hubbard Blakeslee, William Vail Kellen, Wilfred Harold Munro, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Thomas Willing Balch, Grenville Howland Norcross, Thomas Hovey Gage, John Whittemore Farwell, Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, Leonard Wheeler, Alexander George McAdie, William Crowninshield Endicott, George Anthony Gaskill, John Woodbury, Charles Knowles Bolton, John Henry Edmonds, Leonard Leopold Mackall, Samuel Lyman Munson, Robert Kendall Shaw, William Bradford Homer Dowse, Chandler Bullock, Charles Eliot Goodspeed, Francis Russell Hart, Alfred Johnson, Gardner Weld Allen, George Ichabod Rockwood, Lawrence Counselman Wroth, Wallace Walter Atwood, Waldo Gifford Leland, Daniel Waldo Lincoln and Frank Brewer Bemis.

The call for the meeting was read by the Secretary.

It was voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the last meeting.

The President read the report of the Council to the Society, Dr. Woodward presented the Treasurer's report, and Mr. Brigham presented the Librarian's report. It was voted to accept these reports and to refer them to the Committee of Publication.

Mr. Leland, one of the delegates of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies, presented a report of the activities of the Council.

The election of officers being in order, the President appointed Messrs. Cunningham, Bullock and Mackall to collect ballots for the office of President, which committee reported that all the ballots cast were for Mr. Waldo Lincoln and he was declared elected.

It was voted that the President appoint a committee of three to nominate other officers of the Society. The President appointed to this Committee Messrs. Nichols, Edmunds and Woodbury, who reported as follows:

Vice-Presidents

Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D., Worcester, Mass.

Clarence Winthrop Bowen, LL.D., New York, N. Y.

Councillors

Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B., Worcester, Mass.

Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M., Worcester, Mass.

Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B., Milton, Mass.

George Parker Winship, Litt.D., Dover, Mass.

William Howard Taft, LL.D., Washington, D. C.

George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D., Worcester, Mass.

Clarence Saunders Brigham, A.M., Worcester, Mass.

James Benjamin Wilbur, LL.D., Manchester, Vt.

Samuel Lyman Munson, Albany, N. Y.

William Vail Kellen, LL.D., Boston, Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence

Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt. D., Worcester, Mass.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence

Worthington Chauncey Ford, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass.

Recording Secretary

Thomas Hovey Gage, LL.B., Worcester, Mass.

Treasurer

Samuel Bayard Woodward, M.D., Worcester, Mass.

Committee of Publication

George Henry Haynes, Ph.D., Worcester, Mass.

Julius Herbert Tuttle, Dedham, Mass.

John Henry Edmonds, Boston, Mass.

Clarence Saunders Brigham, A.M., Worcester, Mass.

Auditors

Homer Gage, M.D., Worcester, Mass.

Daniel Waldo Lincoln, LL.B., Worcester, Mass.

Upon motion of Judge Forbes, it was voted to accept the report and that the President receive the ballots of those wishing to vote. The President announced that all the ballots were for the nominees of the Committee and they were declared elected.

Mr. Brigham then presented the recommendations of the Council for membership in the Society as follows:

Resident Members

George Sumner Barton, Worcester, Mass.

John Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Va.

Calvin Coolidge, Washington, D. C.

Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, Boston, Mass.

Allen Johnson, New Haven, Conn.

Thomas Bonaventure Lawler, New York, N. Y.

Horace Augustus Moses, Springfield, Mass.

Charles Alpheus Place, Lancaster, Mass.

Wilbur Henry Siebert, Columbus, Ohio.

Foreign Member

Bernard Faÿ, Paris, France.

The President appointed Messrs. Hart, Wroth, and Daniel W. Lincoln a Committee to distribute, collect

and count ballots for the election of new members, who reported that all of the nominees were elected.

Mr. Gage, in accordance with the recommendation of the Council, moved to amend Article VII of the By-Laws, by striking out the following provisions:

“—members residing in New England shall pay an annual fee of five dollars. A payment of fifty dollars at one time shall constitute the person so paying a life member and shall exempt him from this payment of the annual fee of five dollars and this sum so paid shall be added to the life membership fund.

Whenever the dues of any member shall remain unpaid for two consecutive years the Treasurer shall report that fact to the Council, which may vote that his connection with the Society be terminated, and such vote shall terminate his connection with the Society, or the Council may take such other action as it deems proper.”

And it was so voted.

The following papers were then presented:

“How Massachusetts received the Declaration of Independence,” by John Henry Edmonds, of Boston, Mass.; “The Trend Towards Centralization,” by Thomas Willing Balch, of Philadelphia, Pa.; “Christoph Daniel Ebeling,” by William Coolidge Lane, of Cambridge, Mass.

It was voted to refer the foregoing papers to the Committee of Publication.

The Secretary was sworn to the faithful discharge of his duties by Judge Forbes.

The meeting then adjourned and the members of the Society were entertained at luncheon by the President at his house, 49 Elm Street.

THOMAS HOVEY GAGE,
Recording Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE Society has lost two active members by death since the last meeting. Arthur Lord of Plymouth, who was elected to membership in October, 1896, died in Boston, April 10, the day after his election as President of our sister institution, the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he had long been as treasurer and vice-president, a most devoted member. George Burton Adams of New Haven, Conn., a member of the Society since April, 1899, died at New Haven on May 26. Brief memoirs of these members will be printed in the Proceedings.

The Council is sorry to announce the retirement from its membership of Judge Samuel Utley who was first chosen a councillor in 1904 and is the last surviving member of the Council of that year. His opinion and advice, often sought and frankly given, have been highly valued by his associates who deeply regret his decision to decline a re-election.

Rearrangement of the library, made possible by the new stack, has been in process during the summer. The most noticeable change is in the alcoves opening from the Reading Room which are now wholly given up to local history, the genealogical collection occupying all the shelves around the Rotunda. These two departments make an impressive showing of the remarkable growth of the collections of the Society since removing into the present building in 1911. Other specialities have increased in like proportion, but their growth is not so prominent since they are housed in the stack, to which has been consigned the collections relating to the Civil War, Spanish America and Ameri-

can Bibliography, which until recently occupied the three eastern alcoves. The last named collection, has been mostly gathered since 1910 when our late associate, Franklin B. Dexter, noticing the weakness of the library in this department, gave several important catalogues and one hundred dollars, which he subsequently increased to three hundred, for the purchase of bibliographical material. From the fact that the library possesses many thousand auction and sales catalogues, not usually included in such collections, it has now one of the largest collections of American bibliography in the country. Our Spanish Americana, which has received a very large and quite important accession of material through the kindness of the University of Chicago, has found ample room for expansion in the new stack and, in connection with our South American, Central American, and West Indian newspapers, forms an invaluable source of material for students of the history of that part of the world. The Council deplores the lack of means to enable the recataloguing and reclassifying of the whole library at the same time that the books are rearranged, which, however desirable, must be deferred until funds permit.

During and partly on account of the Great War the publication of the Proceedings fell badly in arrears, each issue being published from twelve to eighteen months after the meetings the doing of which it recorded. An attempt is now being made to recover this lost time and to have the Proceedings of each meeting distributed to the members before the following meeting, as was formerly done. The issue for April 1924, was sent to the members in August last and that for October 1924, was mailed two weeks ago, consequently the Proceedings are now but six months in arrears and as the number for April, 1925, is mostly in type and will be issued, it is hoped, before January, it is expected that the Proceedings for this meeting will be in the members' hands before the April meeting and the lost time will be wholly regained. It is unfortu-

nate that the lack of income prevents the publication of an occasional volume of Transactions.

Through the suggestion of vice-president Bowen, ever vigilant for the Society's welfare, the portrait gallery has received a welcome addition. Mrs. Arthur John Hillman of Jamaica, N. Y., has presented two portraits by Winthrop Chandler, one of himself and the other of his wife, excellent examples of the work of this local artist and especially valuable because portraying the artist himself. Mrs. Hillman, whose maiden name was Mollie Eliza Stark, is the great-great-granddaughter of Winthrop Chandler through her mother, Mary Gleason, daughter of Charles (Samuel, Winthrop) Chandler and wife of Jacob Hicks Stark. She presents these portraits to the Society in memory of her mother, merely asking that this be expressed in the records. The portraits have been thoroughly restored and reframed at the expense of Mr. Bowen. Winthrop Chandler, the artist, son of William (John, John, William) and Jemima (Bradbury) Chandler, was born April 6, 1747 at Woodstock, formerly a part of Worcester county but now in Connecticut, and died July 29, 1790 at the house of his brother, Theophilus, in Thompson, Conn. He is said to have studied portrait painting in Boston but, unable to support his family by that form of art, was obliged to resort to house painting. Several of his portraits are still preserved in Woodstock and neighboring towns as well as in Worcester county. Mr. Chandler was also a skillful wood carver and carved the English coat of arms which decorated the mansion of his cousin, Sheriff Gardner Chandler of Worcester, which was standing within the memory of our older members, on Main Street, opposite the common. He removed with his wife, to Worcester in 1787, but was reduced to extreme poverty and was obliged to seek a home with his brother, his wife going to her parents in Dudley, where she died in 1789.

Mr. Munson's gift of almanacs was acknowledged at

the April meeting. It has placed this library far in the lead of all collectors of these interesting publications. An exhibition has been arranged in the cases in the upper hall of eighty-seven almanacs comprising the most interesting examples in the collection, though the number might well be doubled did space permit. A descriptive catalogue of the exhibition has been prepared and is now being printed and the exhibition will be continued through the winter. It is worthy of a more careful study than the time available today will permit.

At the annual meeting a year ago the Society voted to authorize the Council to investigate the subject of an increase of the endowment fund and to take such action as it may see fit to promote it. In accordance with this vote the Council empowered the President to appoint a committee of five to investigate the subject and report its recommendations to the Council. The President appointed as members of the committee, the President and Messrs. Brigham, Nichols, C. G. Washburn and Wilbur. This committee has reported progress and requested further time, which has been granted. The substance of its report is, that after due deliberation it decided that the sum needed is five hundred thousand dollars and that it was advisable to consult experts as to methods to be pursued. These experts advised a preliminary survey of the situation and a campaign of four or more months of publicity, this preliminary work to cost about fifty-five hundred dollars. Aware that the Society had not this sum of money to expend, eleven members were invited to underwrite this expense and generously responded by advancing five hundred dollars each.

A thorough survey of the Society's condition and needs has been made, of which a voluminous report has been submitted to the committee and, for the last four or five months, a campaign of publicity has been carried on through the newspapers of the country which, in the opinion of the Council, has widely advertised the Society and its collections.

During this campaign the following articles have been prepared from materials in the library and printed in the newspapers:

1. Origin of Memorial Day, telling of its inspiration by an "unknown" soldier, as revealed in the Society's records.
2. Letter of Gen. William T. Sherman, written during advance upon Atlanta.
3. Cross-word Puzzle of 1860, consisting of photograph of billboard, cross-word broadside in the Society's files, with descriptive article.
4. Satire on General Howe's Proclamation of November 6, 1775, from a rare broadside.
5. A Loyalist's Impressions of the Battle of Bunker Hill, based on an original letter written by Samuel Paine in June 1775.
6. General Washington's Orders to his Army on assuming command at Cambridge July 3, 1775, taken from Henshaw's Orderly Book.
7. How Isaiah Thomas proclaimed the Declaration of Independence.
8. Origin of America and the Star Spangled Banner.
9. Washington at Cambridge. Original evidence from an old newspaper file showing Washington's official acts, including review of forces on taking over army, for publication on occasion of President Coolidge's visit to Cambridge, July 3.
10. Tea gathered after Boston Tea Party, photographed in phial at the Society's museum.
11. Benedict Arnold's letter from Crown Point resigning commission as commander.
12. Revere's Forty-two shilling note engraving, a Revolutionary War relic, rescued from scrap pile in Scotland.
13. "New England Rarities Discovered," a rare volume by John Josselyn.
14. The Celeron plate, buried by the French in 1749, at the mouth of the Venango River to mark their claim to the Western Territory.
15. Indian playing cards, based on an original pack of cards in the Society's museum.

16. Origin of Labor Day, with comment on its significance written by William Green, president of the America Federation of Labor.
17. The "Alabama Stone," connected with DeSoto's expeditions in Florida.
18. Staffordshire blue platter, showing landing of Lafayette at New York in 1824.
19. Letter from Charles Dickens during his visit to America.
20. Four engravings of Indian chiefs of the Six Nations, engraved in 1710.
21. Bookplates of Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson.

These twenty-one newspaper articles have appeared in hundreds of newspapers throughout the country, chiefly east of the Mississippi River, but in a few cases extending to California, Oregon and other Western States. The Society has already obtained clippings from nearly two hundred newspapers, although this represents probably not more than one-fifth of the number of articles published. The most popular articles were "A Loyalist's Impressions of Bunker Hill," the "Origin of America," the "Letter of Benedict Arnold," and "Josselyn's New England Rarities." In at least two cases the articles were sent out in syndicate form, which resulted in far larger publication than if sent to individual newspapers. In several cases newspaper editorials were written on the articles published and considerable correspondence has come to the Society as a result of the publicity given to its name. Evidently thousands of people, who never even heard of the American Antiquarian Society, have at least read its name in print and know something of the scope of its collections.

A report, based on the survey, is now being prepared for distribution among the members and friends of the Society and members can materially assist the committee, if they will see that these pamphlets are distributed among those who are likely to be interested in adding to the resources of the Society.

The Council recommends that the exaction of an annual fee of five dollars from members residing in New England be abolished, thereby placing all members on the same basis and making all membership hereafter strictly honorary. In spite of the insufficient income of the Society the Council is of the opinion, that the sum raised by these annual dues is not worth the trouble it makes for our treasurer, nor the annoyance it causes to our New England members. A vote has therefore been prepared striking out the fourth and fifth paragraphs of Article VII of the By-Laws, which relate to this annual fee and the provisions in case of its non-payment, and its adoption is advised.

By the earliest By-Laws all members were assessed two dollars annually and the payment of twenty dollars relieved a member of all further dues. In 1814, only members residing in Massachusetts were taxed and in 1820, an initiation fee of six dollars was asked of all new members and the same sum, paid by a Massachusetts member present or future exempted him from annual dues. In 1831, the Society, having received Mr. Thomas' legacy, adopted a new set of By-Laws and abolished all dues. In 1878, an admission fee of five dollars was required of all new members and New England members were assessed five dollars annually, which could be commuted by the payment of fifty dollars. This arrangement continued until April, 1918, when the admission fee was abolished.¹

The following report of Waldo G. Leland, delegate of the Society to The American Council of Learned Societies is made a part of the Council Report.

WALDO LINCOLN,
For the Council

¹An error has been found in the published Proceedings, 1812-1849, p. 75. Article IX as there printed was not adopted until January, 1820. It should read: Each member residing within the State of Massachusetts shall annually pay to the Treasurer two dollars towards a fund for the contingent expenses of the Society; and any such member who shall neglect to pay said annual tax, and shall suffer himself to be in arrears for three annual taxes, after having been called upon by the treasurer in person, or by his written order; shall be considered as having abdicated his interest in the Society, and no longer a member.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

REPORT TO THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
BY ITS DELEGATE

October 21, 1925

THE American Council of Learned Societies was organized in 1920 and incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia in 1924. It is a federation of the twelve most representative learned societies of the United States, devoted to the humanistic and social sciences and occupies a place in its field somewhat similar to that held by the National Research Council in the field of the exact and natural sciences.

The societies which comprise the Council are, in the first place, the three which most nearly resemble academies in their organization, membership, and activities. These are the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences of Boston, and the American Antiquarian Society. The other nine societies are of the associational type: the Philosophical Association, the Oriental Society, the Philological and Modern Language Associations, the Archaeological Institute, the Historical, Economic, and Political Science Associations, and the Sociological Society.

Each society is represented in the Council by two delegates who serve terms of four years each, and contributes to the support of the Council at the rate of five cents per member, with a minimum assessment of \$25.00 for societies which have less than 500 members. As the aggregate membership of the constituent societies is about 15,000 the annual income from dues is approximately \$800.00. In addition to this slender resource the Council has been able to secure important gifts or subventions, which now—including those promised as well as those which have been turned over to the Council—aggregate nearly \$545,000.00. These subventions are, however, for specific purposes and only a very small part of them is available

for the necessary general expenses of the Council, which is actively seeking a permanent endowment.

The Council is the American member of the International Union of Academies, organized in 1919, to which the humanistic academies of seventeen countries at present belong. The headquarters of the Union are in Brussels. It holds an annual meeting in May, to which the member countries send two delegates each. Its support is derived from the annual dues of 2,000 Belgian francs paid by each member country and from gifts. The American Council has been able to make several such gifts, amounting in all to about 20,000 francs.

The work of the Council of Learned Societies falls into two categories—international undertakings carried on in co-operation with the learned bodies of other countries under the auspices of the International Union of Academies, and domestic activities for the advancement of humanistic learning in America and for the promotion of the interests of the constituent societies.

In the category of international undertakings are the Corpus of Ancient Vases and the dictionaries of Medieval Latin. The American contribution to the Corpus of Vases consists thus far of a fascicle devoted to the collections of Mr. Albert Gallatin and the late Mr. Joseph C. Hoppin, prepared and published at the expense of the collectors themselves. It is hoped that further fascicles may be prepared which shall be devoted to the important collections of the leading American museums. The contribution to the general dictionary of Medieval Latin is the work done under the direction of Professor Charles H. Beeson, of the University of Chicago, on selected printed medieval texts, while of more restricted scope is the work of a committee under Professor James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, in co-operation with a British committee, on a dictionary of late medieval British Latin.

The Council has proposed to the International Union that there be made a survey of the current bibliography of the humanistic and social sciences, as a first step towards improving and completing the record of contemporary scholarship. It is probable that the proposal will be adopted by the Union at its next meeting.

In the category of domestic undertakings there is a considerable activity to the credit of the Council.

In order to promote closer relations between the constituent societies and to discover means of further advancing their interests as corporate bodies, a conference of their secretaries is held annually. At this conference problems of membership, finance, publications, meetings, and general welfare are discussed, and each society is thus enabled to take advantage of the experience of the other societies. The conference, still in its beginnings, promises to be of great practical value to the constituent societies.

The Council is just completing a comprehensive historical survey of the learned societies of the United States, which will bring together a body of information never before assembled, respecting their government, membership, finances, meetings, publications, and scientific activities in general. The survey will make a substantial volume which will be published this winter.

Another survey, which will be undertaken during the coming year, and which, like the survey of learned societies, is financed by the Carnegie Corporation, will cover the entire field of research in the humanistic and social sciences in America. This second survey will attempt to show what research is being carried on in the various subdivisions of the general field, whether by individual scholars or by institutes or bureaus of research, what resources are available for its support and encouragement, and what means exist for the publication of its results.

Other enterprises of the Council must be briefly mentioned. Under its auspices American scholars interested in medieval studies have organized a general committee, and are about to commence the publication of a *Journal of Medieval Studies*. For three years they have put out an annual bulletin on the progress of medieval studies in the United States.

A catalogue of manuscripts of foreign origin which are to be found in American libraries and collections is to be undertaken by a committee of the Council, thus providing a much needed guide to a vast and exceedingly important, but almost unknown body of material.

Another committee of the Council has been created to deal with the problem of assuring a better distinction abroad of American humanistic periodicals and other publications. The committee has already printed a descriptive list of American Journals devoted to the Humanistic and Social Sciences, which is being distributed to foreign and American libraries.

For the encouragement of research by mature scholars—not candidates for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy—the Council has received from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial a subvention of \$5000.00 a year for three years, which will be utilized in small grants of from \$50.00 to \$300.00, assigned to scholars who are engaged in definite projects of constructive research and who are in need of such aid for specific purposes—travel, copies, statistical compilations, assistance, etc.

The undertaking which is doubtless of most interest to the American Antiquarian Society, is the Dictionary of American Biography. This enterprise was proposed to the Council in 1921 by one of the delegates of this Society, Professor Frederick J. Turner. Another member of this Society, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, was chairman of the committee which was charged with studying the proposal and with finding the means necessary for its execution, and he is now chairman of the permanent Committee on Management which has the general direction of the enterprise. It was not easy to find the means for the undertaking but after persistent search and many disappointments a benefactor was found. Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, in the name of the New York Times generously and in public-spirited fashion offered to provide the working capital of \$500,000.00 which it was estimated would be required. A general editor has been secured, Professor Allen Johnson of Yale University, whose broad interests, comprehensive knowledge, and success as editor of the *Chronicles of American History* assure the successful conduct of the enterprise and the high standard of the completed work.

The Dictionary will be published in twenty volumes, the first of which will appear in three years, to be followed by the others at regular intervals at the rate of three a year. It is estimated that the work will comprise about 20,000 biographies. Living subjects will not be included but supple-

mental volumes will be issued after the completion of the principal series.

In literary form and method the Dictionary will resemble the English National Dictionary of Biography but the basis of selection will naturally be more inclusive. It is expected that the Dictionary will make important contributions to all aspects of American history, economic, industrial, agricultural, social, intellectual, religious, political, etc. Without doubt the collections of this Society will furnish a vast amount of valuable material, not available elsewhere, which will be much utilized by the contributors to the Dictionary, and thus the American Antiquarian Society through its members and through its library, will have a most important part in the enterprise.

Respectfully submitted,

WALDO G. LELAND

*Delegate of the American Antiquarian Society
to the American Council of Learned Societies.*

OBITUARIES

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS

George Burton Adams, whose death occurred at New Haven, Conn., May 26, 1925, was born June 3, 1851 at Fairfield, Vt., the son of Rev. Calvin Carlton and Emeline (Nelson) Adams. He entered Beloit College at the age of eighteen and received from it the degree of A.B. in 1873; of A.M. in 1876 and the honorary degree of Litt.D. in 1903. He studied for the ministry for a year at Yale, where he was given the degree of B.D. in 1877. He was immediately afterwards appointed Professor of History at Drury College, where he remained until 1888 when he was appointed Larned Professor of History at Yale University, which position he retained until 1917, when he retired as Professor Emeritus. In 1924 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Yale. During his connection with Drury College he studied for a year at Leipzig, where he was given the degree of Ph.D. in 1886.

He was especially interested in English constitutional history in which subject he became one of the chief American authorities. He was the author of "Civilization during the Middle Ages"; "The Growth of the French Nation"; "European History"; the second volume of Hunt and Poole's "Political History of England"; "The Origin of the English Constitution"; "Outline Sketch of English Constitutional History"; "The British Empire"; and "Constitutional History of England." He was a member of the American Historical Association of which he was president in 1907, fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and corresponding member of the Royal

Historical Society of England and of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. He was elected to this Society in 1899. He married in 1878 Miss Ida Clarke, who with a daughter survives him.

W. L.

ARTHUR LORD

Arthur Lord, son of William Henry and Persis (Kendall) Lord, died at Boston, April 10, 1925. He was born September 2, 1850 at Port Washington, Wis. His parents removed to Plymouth, Mass., while he was a boy and he continued to reside there during the rest of his life. He was educated in the public schools of Plymouth and at Harvard College, where he received the degree of A.B., *cum laude*, in 1872. He then studied law and was admitted to the Plymouth County bar in 1874 and immediately began practice in Plymouth, in partnership with Albert Mason, later Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court. He afterwards opened an office in Boston and became widely known in his profession. He was a member of the Massachusetts Bar Association of which he was vice-president and, in 1918, its president.

He represented Plymouth in the Legislature in 1885 and 1886, serving as chairman of the committee on judiciary and also as chairman of the joint legislative committee on revision of the judiciary system. He became one of the most prominent citizens of Plymouth, was usually moderator of the town meetings, was selectman for successive years and many times chairman of the board. He was a member of the important town committees, being at the time of his death chairman of the planning board. Besides being prominent in town affairs he was connected with several important business enterprises. It was through his indefatigable exertions that Plymouth became conscious of its duties and opportunities as the home of the Pilgrims and began an improvement of the neglected mementoes of the early settlement of the town.

He became president of the Pilgrim Society and, under his fostering care, that society has become the worthy guardian of the invaluable memorials of the past. As chairman of the Tercentenary Commission for the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, he accomplished marvels in the preparation of the town for that event, for which he deserves the gratitude of all who value the preservation of the landmarks of the earliest permanent settlement in New England.

He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the Old Colony Historical Society and of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. His chief interest was in the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was elected a member in 1882, and served as a most able and efficient treasurer from 1907 to 1921, and vice-president from 1921 to 1925. He was elected president of the Society the day before his death, as the serious nature of his illness was not generally known. He was a member of this Society from 1896 and, in 1920, contributed to its Proceedings a valuable and timely paper on the Mayflower Compact. In 1921 he received the honorary degrees of LL.D. from Dartmouth and of Litt.D. from Brown. He married in 1878 Miss Sarah Shippen who with six children survives him.

W. L.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer presents herewith his annual report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1925, to which is appended a statement of the Society's investments and of the condition of the various funds.

Oct. 1, 1925 the net assets were invested as follows:

Library Building and land	\$291,379.19
Public Funds	47,007.65
Railroad and Street Railway Bonds	94,129.27
Miscellaneous Bonds	137,822.50
Railroad and Street Railway shares	24,193.90
Bank shares	8,389.00
Miscellaneous shares	25,608.90
Mortgages	11,600.00
Cash on deposit	2,055.14

\$642,185.55

Which sum includes unexpended income

amounting to \$7.34

Bills payable	<u>27,921.29</u>	<u>27,928.63</u>
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\$614,256.92

Less Library Building and land	<u>291,379.19</u>
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Capital bearing interest	\$322,877.73
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The following securities were paid or sold during the year:

- \$10,000 U. S. Government 4 $\frac{1}{4}$'s 1952
- 4,000 Province of British Columbia 5's 1925
- 1,000 Worcester Consolidated St. Ry. 7's 1926
- 2,000 Bethlehem Steel Co. 7's (called for payment)
- 13,000 American Tel. & Tel. Co. 4's 1929
- 10,000 United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland 5 $\frac{1}{2}$'s 1929
- 11,000 Duquesne Light Company 6's 1949

The following securities were bought during the year:

\$1,000 Nebraska Power Co. 5's 1949
15,000 Kansas City Terminal Ry. Co. 4's 1960
12,000 Commonwealth of Australia 5's 1955
\$4,000 Northern New York Utilities Inc. 5's 1955
4,000 Iowa Light, Heat & Power 5's 1946
5,000 Ohio Public Service Co. 5's 1954
3 shares Fitchburg Gas & Elec. Co.
7 shares Insurance Company of North America
31 shares Worcester Gas Light Co.
5 shares Lawrence Gas & Electric Co.

The Principal Account has been increased by receipt of \$150.00 for Life Memberships; the following amounts as Special Gifts—Charles G. Washburn \$100.00, Charles H. Taylor \$775.00, Henry W. Cunningham \$350.00, Emily E. F. Skeel \$200.00; \$1878.69 by sale of duplicates; \$77.96 from James Lyman Whitney Estate; and the following amounts were credited to the Building Fund:

George I. Rockwood	\$1,000.00
George H. Haynes	25.00
George H. Blakeslee	50.00
Harry W. Goddard	500.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,575.00

The following amounts were also credited to the Publicity Underwriting Fund:

Charles L. Nichols	\$500.00
Grenville H. Norcross	500.00
Charles G. Washburn	500.00
John W. Farwell	500.00
Clarence W. Bowen	500.00
George I. Rockwood	500.00
James B. Wilbur	500.00

established for preliminary work in connection with the campaign for an Endowment Fund.

SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, *Treasurer.*

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Principal Oct. 1, 1924 (less unexpended income for 1924)		\$633,445.93
Library Building Fund (from Building Fund)		24,862.10
Principal received since Oct. 1, 1924		
Wallace W. Atwood Life Membership.....	\$50.00	
William Sumner Appleton Life Membership....	50.00	
Joseph Grafton Minot Life Membership.....	50.00	
Income added to principal		
Special Gifts Fund	\$44.60	
James Lyman Whitney Fund.....	62.98	
Andrew McF. Davis Fund.....	430.84	538.42
Gifts to Special Gifts Fund.....	1,425.00	
Sales of Duplicates to Purchasing Fund.....	1,878.69	
James Lyman Whitney Estate.....	77.96	
Building Fund.....	1,575.00	
Building Fund (from bills payable).....	12,921.29	
Publicity Underwriting Fund.....	3,500.00	
Profit & Loss		
U. S. Govt. 4¼'s 1952 (profit by sale).....	537.50	
Province of British Columbia 5's 1925 (paid at maturity).....	115.00	
Worcester Consolidated St. Rwy. 7's 1926 (profit by sale)....	25.50	
Bethlehem Steel Co. 7's (bonds called for payment).....	50.00	
American Tel. & Tel. Co. 4's 1929 (profit by sale)	235.00	
United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland 5½'s 1929 (profit by sale).....	2,147.50	
Duquesne Light Co. 6's 1949 (profit by sale) ..	1,910.00	27,086.86
		<hr/>
		\$685,394.89
Expended from Purchasing Fund.....	\$1,593.62	
Expended from Special Gifts Fund.....	741.16	
Expended from Building Fund.....	24,862.10	
Expended from Publicity Underwriting Fund...	3,098.51	30,295.39
		<hr/>
		\$655,099.50

INCOME ACCOUNT

Unexpended income 1924.....	\$669.76	
Income from Investments.....	19,980.90	
Assessments.....	275.00	
Sale of Publications.....	345.70	21,271.36
		<hr/>
		\$676,370.86

EXPENDITURES

Income carried to Principal.....	\$538.42	
Incidental Expense.....	364.27	
Salaries.....	9,158.98	
Light, Heat, Water and Telephone.....	1,903.30	
Office Expense.....	694.76	
Supplies.....	496.41	
Books.....	2,891.73	
Publishing.....	3,296.85	
Binding.....	1,001.15	
Care of Grounds.....	172.15	
Extra Service.....	746.00	21,264.02
		<u>\$655,106.84</u>
Bills Payable (addition to building, 1925)		12,921.29
		<u>\$642,185.55</u>

ASSETS

Real Estate.....	\$291,379.19	
Mortgages.....	11,600.00	
Bonds.....	278,959.42	
Stocks.....	58,191.80	
Cash on Deposit.....	2,055.14	
		<u>\$642,185.55</u>
Unexpended Balance Oct. 1, 1925.....		7.34
Principal Oct. 1, 1925.....		<u>\$642,178.21</u>

OCT. 1, 1925
CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS

Fund Title	Principal	Balance 1924	Income 1924	Expended 1924	Balance
1-Alden.....	\$1,000.00		\$56.00	\$56.00	
2-Bookbinding.....	7,500.00		420.00	420.00	
3-George Chandler.....	500.00		28.00	28.00	
4-Collection and Research	17,000.00	\$9.69	952.00	961.69	
5-I. and E. L. Davis....	23,000.00		1,288.00	1,288.00	
6-John and Eliza Davis..	4,900.00		274.40	274.40	
7-F. H. Dewey.....	4,800.00		268.80	268.80	
8-George E. Ellis.....	17,500.00		980.00	980.00	
9-Librarian's and General	35,000.00	143.78	1,960.00	2,103.78	
10-Haven.....	1,500.00		84.00	84.00	
12-Life Membership.....	4,600.00		257.60	257.60	
13-Lincoln Legacy.....	7,000.00		392.00	392.00	
14-Publishing.....	32,001.91		1,792.11	1,792.11	
17-Salisbury.....	104,348.39	249.73	5,873.51	6,115.90	\$7.34
18-Tenney.....	5,000.00		\$280.00	\$280.00	
19-B. F. Thomas.....	1,000.00		56.00	56.00	
22-Special Gifts.....	1,158.43		44.60	44.60	

23-F. W. Haven.....	2,000.00		112.00	112.00
24-Purchasing.....	355.48	
25-Charles F. Washburn..	5,000.00		280.00	280.00
26-Centennial.....	32,950.58	213.50	1,845.23	2,058.73
27-Eliza D. Dodge.....	3,000.00		168.00	168.00
28-Hunnewell.....	5,000.00		280.00	280.00
29-James Lyman Whitney	1,187.69		62.98	62.98
30-Samuel A. Green.....	5,000.00		280.00	280.00
31-Andrew McF. Davis..	8,124.35		430.84	430.84
32-Nathaniel Paine.....	38,134.42	53.06	2,135.53	2,188.59
34-Publicity Underwriting	401.49	

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS

BONDS

NAME	RATE	MATURITY	PAR VAL.	BOOK VAL.
PUBLIC FUNDS:				
United States of America	4¼	Nov., 1942	\$3,000	\$3,000.00
United Kingdom of Great				
Britain and Ireland.....	5½	Feb., 1937	3,000	2,928.75
City of Bergen.....	8	Nov., 1945	3,000	2,940.00
City of Montreal.....	5	Nov., 1930	3,000	2,797.50
City of Winnipeg.....	6	Oct., 1946	4,000	3,970.00
Province of Ontario.....	5½	Jan., 1937	2,000	2,040.00
Toronto Harbor Com-				
missioners.....	4½	Sept., 1953	16,000	13,550.40
Dutch East Indies.....	6	Mar., 1962	4,000	3,871.00
Commonwealth of				
Australia.....	5	July, 1955	12,000	11,910.00

\$47,007.65

RAILROADS:

Atchison, Topeka & Santa				
Fe.....	4	May, 1995	1,000	885.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa				
Fe.....	4	Oct., 1995	4,000	3,096.75
Boston Elevated.....	4	May, 1935	2,000	2,000.00
Boston Elevated.....	4½	Apr., 1937	8,000	7,960.00
Boston & Maine.....	3½	Feb., 1925	5,000	4,593.00
Chicago, Burlington &				
Quincy.....	4	July, 1949	5,000	5,000.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois	5	May, 1951	4,800	4,152.02
Chicago & Eastern Illinois	6	Oct., 1934	1,000	940.00
Chicago, Indiana &				
Southern.....	4	Jan., 1956	12,000	10,920.00

Chicago, Milwaukee & St.				
Paul.....	4½	June, 1932	2,000	1,932.50
Illinois Central.....	3½	July, 1952	2,000	2,000.00
Illinois Central.....	5	Dec., 1963	2,000	2,010.00
Kansas City Terminal...4		Jan., 1960	15,000	12,975.00
Lake Shore & Michigan				
Southern.....	4	May, 1931	5,000	4,621.00
New York Central.....	5	Oct., 2013	5,000	4,725.00
New York, New Haven, & Hartford.....	6	Jan., 1948	2,500	2,369.00
New York, New Haven, & Hartford.....	4	May, 1954	10,000	10,000.00
New York, New Haven, & Hartford.....	3½	Jan., 1956	50	50.00
Northern Pacific.....	6	July, 2047	2,000	1,930.00
Old Colony.....	4	Jan., 1938	3,000	2,970.00
Pere Marquette.....	4	July, 1956	5,000	} 5,000.00
Pere Marquette.....	5	July, 1956	500	
Southern Indiana.....	4	Feb., 1951	2,000	2,000.00
Wilkesbarre & Eastern..	5	June, 1942	2,000	2,000.00

 \$94,129.27

MISCELLANEOUS BONDS:

Adirondack Power & Light Corporation...6				
		Mar., 1950	6,000	5,175.00
Alabama Power Co....	5	June, 1951	5,000	4,475.00
Appalachian Power Co.	5	June, 1941	6,000	5,460.00
Bethlehem Steel Com- pany.....	7	Oct., 1935	11,000	10,212.50
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Company.	5	Jan., 1939	1,000	800.00
Cedars Rapids Mfg. & Pr. Co.....	5	Jan. 1953	5,000	4,800.00
Congress Hotel Com- pany.....	6	Feb., 1933	5,000	5,000.00
Consumers Power Com- pany.....	5	Jan., 1936	6,000	5,335.00
Detroit Edison Com- pany.....	5	Jan., 1933	5,000	4,925.00
Detroit Edison Com- pany.....	5	July, 1940	5,000	4,800.00
Ellicott Square Com- pany.....	5	Mar., 1935	6,500	6,110.00
Empire District Electric Company.....	8	Nov., 1949	4,000	3,930.00

Fort Worth Power & Light Company.....5	Aug., 1931	5,000	4,281.25
Great Northern Power Company.....5	Feb., 1935	7,000	6,720.00
Iowa Light, Heat & Power Company....5	Oct., 1946	4,000	3,730.00
Montreal Light, Heat & Power Company....5	Apr., 1933	5,000	4,650.00
Nebraska Power Company.....5	June, 1949	6,000	4,985.00
Niagara Falls Power Company.....6	Nov., 1950	4,000	3,500.00
Northern New York Utilities.....5	July, 1955	4,000	3,820.00
Northern States Power Company.....5	Apr., 1941	5,000	4,300.00
Ohio Public Service Co. 5	Sept., 1954	5,000	4,675.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company. 5	May, 1952	5,000	4,725.00
Seattle Electric Company.....5	Aug., 1929	5,000	5,000.00
Shawinigan Water & Power Company ... 6	July, 1950	8,000	8,000.00
Southern California Edison Company....5	Nov., 1939	1,000	920.00
Southern California Edison Company....6	Feb., 1944	10,000	8,975.00
Southern Power Company.....5	Mar., 1930	5,000	4,775.00
Terre Haute Traction & Light Company....5	May, 1944	2,000	2,000.00
United States Rubber Company.....5	Jan., 1947	2,000	1,743.75

 \$137,822.50

STOCKS	PAR VALUE	BOOK VALUE
55 American Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$5,500	\$5,345.00
11 Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe R.R. (Pref.)	1,100	687.00
6 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. (Com.).....	600	420.00
3 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. (Pref.).....	300	210.00
9 Boston & Albany R. R.....	900	1,080.00
50 Boston & Maine R. R. (Pref.).....	5,000	5,000.00
6 Chicago & Eastern Ill. Ry. Co. (Com.)	600	66.90
4 Chicago & Eastern Ill. Ry. Co. (Pref.)	400	120.00
28 Fall River Gas Works Co.....	700	1,097.88

6 Fitchburg Bank & Trust Co.....	600	600.00	
11 Fitchburg Gas & Electric Light Co.....	550	692.65	
5 Great Northern Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	500	320.00	
50 Haverhill Electric Co.....	1,250	1,550.00	
20 Insurance Co. of North America.....	200	466.25	
25 Lawrence Gas & Electric Co.	625	638.04	
50 Massachusetts Gas Co. (Pref.).....	5,000	3,785.00	
15 National Shawmut Bank.....	1,500	3,075.00	
10 New England Tel. & Tel. Co.....	1,000	990.50	
9 New London Northern Ry Co.....	900	810.00	
78 N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.....	7,800	8,620.00	
30 Norton Co. (Pref.).....	3,000	3,000.00	
35 Northern R. R.....	3,500	3,350.00	
15 Pennsylvania R. R. Co.....	750	510.00	
3 Pullman Co.....	300	309.00	
30 Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000.00	
5 United States Envelope Co. (Pref.)....	500	475.00	
16 Webster & Atlas Nat'l Bank.....	1,600	1,800.00	
31 Worcester Bank & Trust Co.....	3,100	2,914.00	
40 Worcester Electric Light Co.....	1,000	1,922.00	
200 Worcester Gas Light Co.....	5,000	4,636.38	
7 Worcester Gas Light Co. (Pref.).....	700	701.20	
			\$58,191.80

MORTGAGE LOANS

J. Burwick.....	2,100.00	
L. L. Mellen.....	1,500.00	
J. P. Sexton, Trustee.....	8,000.00	
		\$11,600.00

REAL ESTATE

Library Building with land.....	\$291,379.19
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The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1925, have been examined by Harry I. Spencer, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

(Signed) HOMER GAGE,

DANIEL W. LINCOLN, *Auditors.*

October 1, 1925.

WORCESTER, MASS., October 1, 1925

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1925, and find same to be correct.

(Signed)

HARRY I. SPENCER,

Accountant

CONTRIBUTORS OF \$500 AND MORE TO THE SOCIETY'S
INVESTED FUNDS

1832	Isaiah Thomas, Worcester (legacy)	\$23,152
	Nathaniel Maccarty, Worcester (legacy)	500
1840	William McFarland, Worcester (legacy)	500
1852-1867	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester	21,545
1884-5	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy)	20,000
1858-1878	Isaac Davis, Worcester	1,700
1858, 1868	Levi Lincoln, Worcester (legacy \$940)	1,040
1868	William Thomas, Boston	500
1868, 1879	Benjamin F. Thomas, Boston (legacy \$1000)	1,100
1869	Nathaniel Thayer, Boston	500
1871-1910	Edward L. Davis, Worcester	10,600
1873, 1874	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury (legacy \$200)	500
1872	John P. Bigelow, Boston (legacy)	1,000
1874, 1881	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph (legacy \$1000)	1,100
1881	Joseph A. Tenney, Worcester (legacy)	5,000
1882	Samuel F. Haven, Worcester (legacy)	1,000
1884	George Chandler, Worcester	500
1886, 1899	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester	10,000
1907-8	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy)	235,000
1889	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester (legacy)	2,000
1895	George E. Ellis, Charlestown (legacy)	10,000
1900	John C. B. Davis, Washington, D.C.	1,000
1900, 1917	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Cal. (legacy \$5000)	6,000
1900-1920	Andrew McFarland Davis, Cambridge	8,000
1905	Andrew H. Green, New York, N. Y. (legacy)	4,840
1907	Charles E. French, Boston (legacy)	1,000
1909	Mrs. Frances W. Haven, Worcester (legacy)	2,000
1910	Charles G. Washburn, Worcester	5,000
	Mrs. Eliza D. Dodge, Worcester (legacy)	3,000
	James F. Hunnewell, Boston	5,000
	Charles H. Davis, Worcester	2,000
	Henry W. Cunningham Boston	1,000
	Eugene F. Bliss, Cincinnati, O.	1,000
	A. George Bullock, Worcester	2,000
	William B. Weeden, Providence, R. I.	500
	Charles L. Nichols, Worcester	2,500
	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester	1,000

	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester	1,000
	Samuel S. Green, Worcester	1,000
1910-1925	James L. Whitney, Cambridge (legacy & accum.)	1,187
1911	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester	2,500
1911, 1919	Samuel A. Green, Boston (legacy \$5000)	5,100
1912	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.	5,000
1912, 1913	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden	1,000
1913	Albert H. Whitin, Whitinsville	1,000
	Daniel Merriman, Boston (legacy)	1,000
	Miss Jane A. Taft, Worcester (legacy)	1,000
	Miss Katharine Allen, Worcester (legacy)	4,000
1920	Samuel L. Munson, Albany, N. Y.	1,000
1921	Nathaniel Paine Worcester (legacy)	38,123
	John W. Farwell, Boston	1,000

CONTRIBUTORS OF \$500 AND MORE TO THE BUILDING FUND, 1920-1925

	Alfred L. Aiken, Worcester	\$1,000
	Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven, Conn.	500
	Clarence W. Bowen, New York, N. Y.	5,000
	Clarence S. Brigham, Worcester	500
	A. George Bullock, Worcester	2,000
	Henry W. Cunningham, Boston	2,000
	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester	3,500
	Theodore T. Ellis, Worcester	1,000
	David H. Fanning, Worcester	5,000
	John W. Farwell, Boston	1,500
	George F. Fuller, Worcester	1,000
	Homer Gage, Worcester	5,000
	T. Hovey Gage, Worcester	1,000
	Harry W. Goddard, Worcester	1,000
	Francis R. Hart, Boston	1,250
	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.	2,000
	William V. Kellen, Boston	1,000
	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester	2,000
	William G. Mather, Cleveland, O.	3,000
	John McK. Merriam, Framingham	500
	Samuel L. Munson, Albany, N. Y.	2,000
	Charles L. Nichols, Worcester	3,500
	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston	3,000
	George A. Plimpton, New York, N. Y.	1,000
	George I. Rockwood, Worcester	1,000
	Charles H. Taylor, Boston	750
	Forrest W. Taylor, Worcester	1,000
	Charles G. Washburn, Worcester	1,500
	Leonard Wheeler, Worcester	1,000
	James B. Wilbur, Manchester, Vt.	6,500
	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester	1,100

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN

IN VIEW of the numerous accessions of the past year, it is fortunate that the addition to the stack was finished before 1925. Through gifts and purchase an unusually large amount of printed material has been added to the Library, nearly all of it fortunately strengthening collections in which we specialize. Expressed in tabular form, the total is as follows:

Bound volumes	3821
Pamphlets	3755
Engravings, broadsides and maps	1137
Unbound newspapers	5120

The number of bound volumes now in the Library is 156,220, and of pamphlets 240,635, a total of nearly 400,000 titles.

During the year the collections have gradually been shifted to make the best use of the additions to the shelf space. At the time of the writing of the last annual report, the newspapers, periodicals and government documents had been rearranged. Since then the remainder of the books have been relocated. The Civil War, Spanish-American and Bibliography Collections have been placed in the stack, and the rapidly growing collection of State and local history now occupies both wings on either side of the main hall. In the stack, the collections of State documents, school-books, college material, directories, music and psalmody have been shifted to allow for future growth.

A considerable part of the accessions of the year has come from certain members who send regularly to the Library all printed material which they acquire. It is from the donations of Chief Justice Rugg, President Lincoln, Mr. Grenville H. Norcross, Mr. Henry W

Cunningham, Mr. Charles H. Taylor, Mr. Charles G. Washburn and Mr. Nathaniel T. Kidder that we obtain hundreds of printed reports and pamphlets needed to complete our files. Rev. Herbert E. Lombard also favors the Library in this way, and in addition sent us 147 volumes and 62 pamphlets which we needed when he disposed of a large part of his own private library at Webster.

Among the special gifts may be noted a fine file of the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute from 1877 to 1925 from Ira N. Hollis; a collection of Protestant Episcopal pamphlet reports and periodicals from Rev. Charles L. Short; a file of Massachusetts town reports from John C. L. Clark; a large collection of Worcester material from Joseph S. Wesby & Sons; several files of American art periodicals from Thomas Hovey Gage; and a complete file of the Civil Service Record 1881-1893 from William V. Kellen. From Mr. Samuel M. Conant has come an important collection of early manuscripts relating to Dudley and surrounding towns. Through the kindness of Mr. Charles E. Goodspeed we have enabled to acquire 335 "Juveniles" and 76 literary annuals, constituting an excellent addition to collections already strong.

The gifts from Mr. Charles H. Taylor have been increasingly valuable. Hundreds of volumes and pamphlets relating to American printing and journalism, important newspaper files, early railroad reports, recent books of historical interest, and scores of maps, lithographs and engravings. Among his manuscript gifts is a collection of 400 letters written to D. C. Heath from 1876 to 1898, many by well known writers and public men, and an annotated copy of P. K. Foley's invaluable Bibliography of American Authors, with numerous manuscript notes and additions of titles.

Through the generosity of Mrs. Arthur J. Hillman of Jamaica, Long Island, the Society has received two additions to its collection of early American painting—the portraits of the artist Winthrop Chandler and his

wife, who was Mary Gleason. Mrs. Hillman presents the pictures to the Society in memory of her mother, Mrs. Jacob Hicks Stark, who as Mary Gleason Chandler was a great-great-granddaughter of Winthrop Chandler. These two fine pictures were secured for the Society through the kindly offices of Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, whose interest in our collection of portraits has been manifested before.

More files have been added to the newspaper collection this past year than ever before in its history. They represent all the States along the Atlantic seaboard, several of the Western and Southern States, and also the West Indies and South America. Among the more interesting files secured are the Annapolis "Maryland Gazette" 1774-1775, the "Maryland Journal" 1782, 1789-1791, the Newport "Companion" 1798-1799, the Warren "Herald of the United States" 1796-1799, the Fredericksburg "Virginia Herald" 1796-1798, the Easton, Penn. "People's Instructor" 1810-1811, the "Richmond Enquirer" 1812-1813, the "Alexandria Herald" 1813-1814, the Hallowell, Me. "American Advocate" 1813-1817, the Paris, Ky. "Western Citizen" 1814-1816, the Lexington "Western Monitor" 1819-1820, the Louisville "Public Advertiser" 1820-1822, the Dover "Enquirer" 1828-1871, the Charlestown "Bunker Hill Aurora" 1841-1870, the Concord "Independent Democrat" 1845-1868, the Boston "Yankee Blade" 1846-1856, and the Bermuda "Royal Gazette" 1850-1882. Most of these files have been secured through exchange or purchase, and it is here fitting to record our indebtedness to Mr. Henry W. Cunningham and Mr. Charles H. Taylor for special gifts in this connection. The following list of files acquired does not include imperfect or scattering lots, of which there were many, or newspapers currently received:

PORTLAND, EASTERN ARGUS, 1806

PORTLAND TRANSCRIPT, 1843, 1883-1902

HALLOWELL, AMERICAN ADVOCATE, 1813-1817

GARDNER, ME., CHRISTIAN INTELLIGENCER, 1827-1831
NORTH YARMOUTH, CHRISTIAN PILOT, 1835-1836
AUGUSTA, GOSPEL BANNER, 1845-1846
AUGUSTA, MAINE FARMER, 1847-1849
WISCASSET, SEASIDE ORACLE, 1874-1877
PARIS, ME., OXFORD DEMOCRAT, 1875-1885
MOUNT DESERT HERALD, 1881-1891
CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE STATESMAN, 1823-1824
DOVER, ENQUIRER, 1828-1871
PORTSMOUTH, EVENING COURIER, 1832
CONCORD, CONGREGATIONAL JOURNAL, 1843-1862
CONCORD, INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT, 1845-1868
CONCORD, PEOPLE, 1868-1878
BOSTON, MEDICAL NEWSPAPER, 1822
BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND ARTISAN, 1832-1834
BOSTON, YANKEE BLADE, 1846-1856
BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND PURITAN, 1844-1849
BOSTON, SATURDAY RAMBLER, 1849
BOSTON, COMMONWEALTH, 1852
BOSTON, FLAG OF OUR UNION, 1854
BOSTON DAILY NEWS, 1870-1872
BOSTON NEWS, 1891-1893
NEW BEDFORD MERCURY, 1828-1830
AMESBURY, CHRONICLE, 1833
AMESBURY, MORNING COURIER, 1835-1839
CHARLESTOWN, BUNKER HILL AURORA, 1841-1870
WALTHAM SENTINEL, 1860-1867
NORTHAMPTON FREE PRESS, 1861-1865
READING CHRONICLE, 1909-1915
NEWPORT COMPANION, 1798-1799
WARREN, HERALD OF U. S., 1796-1799
WARREN GAZETTE, 1866-1870
WARREN, NORTH STAR, 1850-1855
WARREN, TELEGRAPH, 1859-1861
ALBANY ARGUS, 1826
BROOKLYN NEWS, 1842-1843
NEW YORK, COURRIER DES ÉTATS-UNIS, 1854-1858
NEW YORK, STANDARD, 1887-1889
PHILADELPHIA, AURORA, 1801, 1802, 1804
PHILADELPHIA, DOLLAR NEWSPAPER, 1845-1847
EASTON, PENN., PEOPLE'S INSTRUCTOR, 1810-1811
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND GAZETTE, 1774-1775
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND JOURNAL, 1782, 1789-1791
FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA HERALD, 1796-1798
RICHMOND STANDARD, 1878-1882
RICHMOND ENQUIRER, 1812-1813
ALEXANDRIA HERALD, 1813-1814

PARIS, KY., WESTERN CITIZEN, 1814-1816
LEXINGTON, WESTERN MONITOR, 1819-1820
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY REPORTER, 1826-1829
LOUISVILLE, PUBLIC ADVERTISER, 1820-1822
LOUISVILLE WEEKLY COURIER, 1868-1869
FRANKFORT COMMENTATOR, 1826-1828
MAYSVILLE, KY., EAGLE, 1828
CHARLESTON, CITY GAZETTE, 1799
CHARLESTON, S. C., STATE GAZETTE, 1799
BRUNSWICK TELEGRAPH, 1860-1876
NEW ORLEANS, WEEKLY PICAYUNE, 1846-1848
BERMUDA, ROYAL GAZETTE, 1850-1882
CARACAS, EL PATRIOTA, 1848-1849

One of the most noteworthy gifts that has ever been made to this library is the collection of American almanacs presented by Samuel Lyman Munson of Albany, N. Y. This collection came to us about six months ago and in this interval hundreds of hours have been spent in comparing his copies with ours. We already had a collection of 10,500 American almanacs, perhaps the largest collection in the country. Mr. Munson, who has been known for over twenty years as one of the most zealous of American collectors, had acquired a collection of almanacs which ranked with ours in the earlier period and in the later period surpassed it. He generously offered to allow us to take over his collection, compare all his copies with ours, and take out whatever we needed. As a result we have obtained a total of 3782 American almanacs, comprising 221 issues before 1800, 1324 between 1800 and 1850, and 2337 between 1850 and 1925. Added to this total are 1400 English almanacs dating from 1614 to 1783, forming one of the most important and comprehensive existing collections. It could well be the subject of a special report.

So many rare issues have been obtained that it is difficult to particularize with titles. Eighteen of the Franklin almanacs, including the Poor Richards and the Franklin Pocket Almanacs have been added. The Leeds Almanacs of New York for 1696, 1711, 1715, 1725 and 1736, and of Philadelphia for 1726 and 1737 are

especially rare issues. Our Whittemore series has been rendered practically complete by the addition of the issues of 1716, 1718, 1720, 1724 and 1725. Other rare almanacs are "Poor Job" for 1754 published at Newport, eight of the Revolutionary issues of Bickerstaff and Weatherwise published at Boston, and four issues of "Gaine's New York Pocket Almanack." Probably the gem of the entire collection is Samuel Brakenbury's Almanac for 1667, printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green, and containing manuscript annotations by Chief Justice Samuel Sewall. In a note laid in between the leaves of this rare issue Sewall records the fact that his Excellency Thomas Lord Culpeper, Governor General of Virginia, came to Boston "incognito" August 24, 1680. Among the nineteenth century issues are a remarkable file of "Miller's Planters' and Merchants' Almanac" of Charleston from 1818 to 1880, and the rare "North-Western Liberty Almanac" of Chicago for 1846, 1847 and 1848.

In many ways this gift might be called one of the most important bibliographical happenings of recent years, for the opportunity to compare ten thousand examples of American printing, with all their variations of type, names of printers and differences in contents, is not often granted. The labor of this comparison has been entirely performed by myself, partly because I was already interested in almanacs, but chiefly because I wished the experience of familiarizing myself with this great mass of early American printing. As a result of all this labor and since the theme is worthy of it, I have thought best to devote the major part of this report to a summary of the entire subject, which might be called "An Account of American Almanacs and their Value for Historical Study."

The literature of almanacs is considerable. In addition to such bibliographical works as the Library of Congress Checklist of Almanacs before 1800, Wall's List of New York Almanacs, and the Checklists of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode

Island issues written by Messrs. Nichols, Bates and Chapin, there are sizeable volumes on Nathaniel Ames by Sam. Briggs, on Franklin's Almanacs by Paul Leicester Ford and on the Old Farmer's Almanacs by George L. Kittredge, not to mention numerous articles on the subject in magazines and the proceedings of learned societies. But most of these treatises concern the early almanacs, primarily those before 1800. They are of value chiefly to the bibliographer and the student of early American printing. It is true that almanacs are of the highest typographical import. No publication, excepting the newspaper, illustrates more clearly and consecutively the history of printing in any town, for nearly every printing firm issued an almanac and the time of its appearance was regular and certain.

Furthermore, the almanacs of the earlier period have incited especial study because they had a greater influence over the lives of the people. The "Almanach de France" for 1845 stated "Fifteen millions of French people learn only by the almanacs the destinies of Europe, the laws of their country, the progress of the sciences, the arts and industry. Almanacs are the village library. It is therefore important to give them a practical usefulness which shall satisfy the daily needs of the common people." This was similarly true in colonial America. The Bible and the almanac were the only reading matter in many a household. Joseph T. Buckingham in his *Memoirs*¹ records his childhood indebtedness to a fifty-year file of almanacs preserved by his family. "These periodicals I read often," he said, "and with never-relaxing interest. They contained many fragments of history, scraps of poetry, anecdotes, epigrams, &c. One of them had a long poetical account of Braddock's Defeat. Others contained accounts of events which led to the Revolutionary War. . . . The Articles of Confederation between the colonies, Petitions to the King, the

¹"Personal Memoirs," 1852, vol. 1, p. 20.

Declaration of Independence, and many other papers connected with the history and politics of the country, were preserved in these useful annuals, and afforded me ample food for study."

There is no doubt that the early almanacs played an effective part in moulding the morals of the people. The exhortations to frugality, temperance, industry, piety and upright living must have had a permanent influence, especially when expressed in phrases that pleased the ear and caught the memory. The use of proverbs interspersed with weather prognostications under the headings of the calendar months seems to have started late in the seventeenth century, the advice regarding morals being the natural outgrowth of advice regarding planting and the performance of household duties. Both Daniel and Titan Leeds were among the first to write such sayings. "Passion runs through all languages" and "It is a bad Devil that does no good" occur in the Titan Leeds issue for 1718 and "He danceth well, to whom Fortune pipeth" in 1728. Nathaniel Whittemore, in his almanacs after 1713, inserted many clever proverbs, although the best of them were borrowed from the sixteenth century proverbs of John Heywood. Nathaniel Ames, whose almanacs were the "best sellers" in New England for a half century preceding the Revolution, was not as much given to proverbs as to poetry. It remained for Franklin to popularize the proverb and many of his epigrams such as "God helps them that help themselves" and "Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise," first appeared so worded in the Poor Richard almanacs. He also made his readers familiar with the earlier English proverbs, which doubtless became more prevalent in current speech in America than in the land of their origin.

Robert B. Thomas, whose Farmer's Almanac was the most popular of all early nineteenth century issues, inculcated moral precepts in the minds of his readers more by allegory than by proverbs. His diatribe

against the telling of idle rumors takes the form of a humorous description of a village gossip whom he calls "Old Betty Blab." All the characters in his little moral dramas have names suited to their failings, such as "Ben Bluster," "Captain Swash," "Goody Shipshod," and "Tabitha Twistem." One of his most telling fables and one not without literary merit was that of "Neighbor Freeport" who liked good-fellowship and grog so much that he fell into the clutches of the "Widow Nippet," "Captain Gripe" and "Old Screw-penny," and died an outcast, a vagabond and a drunkard.

The eighteenth century almanacs, although interspersed with bits of wit and wisdom, were primarily useful for their astronomical information. They also gave the records of the Courts and of the general religious meetings, and printed the list of roads, distances between towns and names of tavern-keepers. But early in the nineteenth century their scope began to widen and their statistical lists became of much more value for reference. The "National Calendar," published by Peter Force from 1820 to 1836, contained a history of all the departments of the national government with lists of officers, army, navy, and post-office lists, and summaries of governmental reports. The "American Almanac," begun in 1830 and continued until 1861, with a subsequent series from 1878 to 1889, included detailed astronomical information, selections regarding agriculture and planting of crops, facts concerning foreign countries, statistical tables and statements respecting the United States and all the State Governments, with lists of railroads, canals, colleges and religious denominations, and an annual chronicle of events. It was an abridged yearly cyclopaedia of national activities and is today a work of high reference value.

In the forepart of the nineteenth century almanacs began to be devoted to special subjects, representing some national organization or movement or designed

to participate in some social question then in controversy. Among the earliest of these special almanacs were those relating to masonry. Outside of a sporadic issue by Samuel Stearns at New York in 1793 of "The Free-Mason's Calendar," with masonic history and a list of lodges, the first of these was "Hardcastle's Annual Masonic Register" for 1812 published at New York and continued as late as 1824. This was followed by the "Masonic and Citizens' Almanac" for 1813, Philadelphia, including masonic songs and a list of lodges in the United States, and the "Gentleman's Pocket Register, and Free-Masons Annual Anthology" for 1813, published by John Lathrop at Boston, a work of 252 pages. The year 1828 witnessed the outcry against masonry, as a result of the abduction of William Morgan, and at Rochester in that year appeared "The Anti-Masonic Almanac," by Edward Giddins. This was published until 1833, in which latter year it was an elaborate pamphlet of 72 pages. Also at Boston appeared "The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac" from 1829 to 1835, and at Philadelphia, "The Sun Anti-Masonic Almanac" from 1831 to 1833 and "Allyn's Anti-Masonic Almanac" for 1832.

Agricultural Almanacs were started in 1816 in Connecticut and in 1817 in Pennsylvania, in each case being promoted by the State Agricultural Societies; also in 1821 in New York under the patronage of the State Board of Agriculture. All almanacs had previously contained directions for planting, but these were especially devoted to the distribution of agricultural information and to the communication of experiences in husbandry.

In 1817 at Boston appeared the first of the medical almanacs, entitled "The Physician's Almanac," containing rules for general health and remedies for sickness. In 1824 came the first number of "The New-York Medical Almanac," a more ambitious effort, with directions for health, household remedies and the

announcement of the award of nine medals for the discovery of a cure for certain diseases such as consumption, yellow fever, erysipelas and rheumatism. It is noticeable that no subsequent issue mentioned the award of any of these medals, although the editor featured a cure for chapped lips which was "infallible." This was followed in 1832 by "Porter's Health Almanac," published at Philadelphia by the editor of "The Journal of Health" and containing 80 pages given over to medical matters; and in 1839 by "The American Medical Almanac," published at Boston by J. V. C. Smith, M.D. Dr. Smith's second issue was a work of 152 pages, with lists of medical societies, colleges and hospitals and a formulary of prescriptions for physicians and apothecaries. In 1844 came the first of the almanacs published commercially by firms advertising patent medicines—"Bristol's Free Almanac," by Bristol's Sarsaparilla Company of Buffalo. This was the precursor of a swarm of patent medicine almanacs such as Ayer's, begun in 1855 and still issued, with the credit of having in some years published its almanac in fifteen different languages; also Herrick's and Hostetter's, each with a record of over half a century of publication.

Nearly all of the early almanacs were highly religious in tone, but they were not official, so in 1821 appeared "The Christian Almanac" published at Boston for the New England Tract Society and containing lists of Bible, Foreign Missions and Religious Tract Societies and general religious news. It was later published by the American Tract Society and was reprinted in many States throughout the country. For twenty years probably no almanac in America had so large a circulation.

The almanacs issued by the various church denominations have always been of value for the study of ecclesiastical history. The Baptists were the first in the field, with "The Baptist Almanac for the Middle States" for 1820, printed at Philadelphia and containing some account of missionary enterprises. "The

United States Baptist Annual Register and Almanac" was published in 1832 and 1833, and "The Triennial Baptist Register" in 1836; but it was not until 1841 that a regular series began, when "The Almanac and Baptist Register" was issued by the American Baptist Publication Society, with tables of Baptist associations and institutions in the United States. This became the "American Baptist Year Book" in 1868, since when the list of ordained ministers was included. In 1852 appeared a single issue of the "American Baptist Register," a large volume with valuable histories of the churches and lists of the clergy.

"The Methodist Almanac" for 1827, Boston, contained a list of Methodist missions, but was not issued again. In 1834 "The Methodist Almanac" came out as an official publication of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which useful work became the "Methodist Year Book" in 1880.

The Protestant Episcopal Tract Society issued "The Churchman's Almanac" at New York in 1830, with accounts of Episcopal institutions and the list of the clergy. "The Protestant Episcopal Almanac," better known as "Whittakers Almanac," was begun in 1854. Both these almanacs were later consolidated with "The Living Church Annual," which is the official statistical annual of the Episcopal Church.

The other denominations soon started almanacs or registers. "The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac," with an account of American churches, colleges and societies and a list of the clergy, was begun at Baltimore in 1833. The "Universalist Register and Almanac," with an historical account of each church and a clergy list, was begun at New York in 1836. This became "The Universalist Companion" in 1841 and "The Universalist Register" in 1864. "The Presbyterian Almanac" was first published at Philadelphia in 1845, by the Presbyterian Board of Publication. This was called "The Presbyterian Family Almanac" in 1852. Because of a division in the church, the "New

School" party started "The American Presbyterian Almanac" in 1856, the two series running at the same time. In 1859 appeared the first issue of "The Presbyterian Historical Almanac," a valuable work with histories of the churches, clergy lists and biographies. "The Congregational Almanac," containing the table of churches and names of ministers, was started in 1846, and became "The Congregational Year-Book" in 1854. "The Unitarian Annual Register," including lists of churches, ministers and societies, was begun in 1846 and was called Year Book in 1856.

The almanacs for mechanics are worthy of mention for little more than the name. "The Mechanics' Almanac" for 1825, by Benjamin Badger, published at Boston, contained only an article on "The Utility of Mechanic Arts." It is interesting chiefly since it omits all references to astrology and the foretelling of the weather, although the editor states that "he knows as much about it as any man." "The United States Working Man's Almanack" for 1831, published by the editors of the "Working-Man's Advocate," gives a long account of working conditions in Europe and America. The "Mechanics' Almanac and Calculator" for 1837, Hartford, prints tables of board and timber measure. "The American Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Almanac" for 1845, New York, published under the patronage of the Mechanics' Institute, contains notes on the mechanic arts, factory systems and sketches of the various Mechanics' Institutes.

The temperance movement brought forth a grist of almanacs. The first of these was "Green's Anti-Intemperance Almanac" for 1831, published at New London, and containing poems and anecdotes regarding the evils of hard drinking. Then followed the "Temperance Almanac" for 1832, Rochester; "The United States Temperance Almanac" for 1832, published at New York by Charles C. P. Crosby; the "Temperance Calendar" for 1832, published at Sandy Hill, N. Y., by S. P. Hines; "The Temperance Alma-

nac" for 1833, New Haven, with a history of the temperance movement in the United States; the "Temperance Almanac" for 1834, issued by the New York State Temperance Society; and "The Temperance Family Almanac" for 1835, Boston, stating that there were 7000 temperance societies in the United States, which publication in 1839 was taken over by the Massachusetts Temperance Union. Most of these almanacs contain graphic wood-cuts showing the results of intoxication which are suggestive of Hogarth's drawing. A movement akin to temperance was that started in the North for the freeing of slaves. In 1836 appeared "The American Anti-Slavery Almanac" published at Boston and transferred to New York in 1839.

Other special almanacs appearing before 1850 had to do with phrenology, music and angling. The "Phrenological Almanac" for 1840, published at New York, by L. N. Fowler, contained an elaborate exposition of the Fowler system, embellished with cuts of the heads of famous people, and was continued until 1875. "The Musical Almanac" for 1842 was published at Boston, with articles on music, the history of national songs and the score of several new tunes. "The American Musical Almanac" appeared in New York in 1852, containing lives of such American musicians as Lowell Mason and Thomas Hastings. Each almanac claimed to be the first of the kind attempted in the country. "The Angler's Almanac" was published at New York in 1848 and 1849, with anecdotes of fishing and information for anglers.

A notable class of almanacs which had an enormous circulation and must have been a relief from the earlier statistical and moralizing annuals, were the comic almanacs. The first of these was "The American Comic Almanac" published at Boston by Charles Ellms, in 1831, containing jokes and crude comic pictures. It immediately caught the popular fancy and was followed by a host of imitators—"The Comic

Token" and "Broad Grins" in 1832; "The American Comic Annual" in 1833, "Elton's Comic All-My-Nack" in 1834, "Finn's Comic Almanac" in 1835, and many others. In Tennessee in 1835 was started "Davy Crockett's Almanack of Wild Sports of the West, and Life in the Backwoods." Crockett died in 1836, and the almanac was published successively by his heirs and then by "Ben. Harding," until in 1839, it was taken over by the firm of Turner & Fisher of New York and continued until 1856. The stories and jokes were in Yankee dialect, the woodcut illustrations were crude and the narrative the tallest exposition of lying that ever graced a humorous publication. As Crockett said in his first preface: "I can run faster, jump higher, squat lower, dive deeper, stay longer under, and come out drier, than any man in the whole country." Fisher also published "Fisher's Comic Almanac" from 1845 to 1856, printing his issues with New York, Philadelphia and Boston imprints. The comic almanacs lasted nearly to the Civil War and foreshadowed the trend of American humor for half a century to come.

It is strange that so little of value for the study of colonial history is found in eighteenth century almanacs. Nathaniel Ames in his *Almanacs for 1756, 1758 and 1763* wrote short accounts of the history and present state of the colonies, and Roger Sherman in his *Almanac for 1760* in an article entitled "Good News for New-England" gave an account of the reduction of Quebec by General Wolfe. "Father Abraham's Almanack," Philadelphia from 1759 to 1761 contained historical accounts of the campaigns in Canada, with wood-cut plans of the forts and towns. The addresses to his readers by Nathaniel Low from 1775 to 1777 were stirring appeals in behalf of the cause of liberty. But not until well into the nineteenth century did the almanacs begin to be of particular value to the historian. Cramer's "Pittsburgh Magazine Almanack" from 1807 to 1816 includes several valuable articles

relating to early Western history—"A Tour to the Red River and to Hot Springs," "Western Emigration," "Pike's Voyage to the Mississippi," "Historical Account of Pittsburgh," and "Manufactures of the Western Country." The "American Naval Almanac" for 1815 contains accounts of naval battles of the late War, with full-page woodcuts of American ships.

The campaign almanacs from 1830 to 1860 are useful for the study of contemporary politics: "Applegate's Whig Almanac" New York, 1835, filled with political gossip and poetry, and "embellished" with fifty engravings; "The Tippecanoe and Log Cabin Almanac" New York, 1841, with sketches and pictures of Gen. William Henry Harrison, Whig candidate for the presidency; "The Harrison Almanac" New York, 1841, issued to exalt the life and deeds of General Harrison; "The Henry Clay Almanac" Philadelphia, 1844, with biography, songs and anecdotes of Clay; "The Clay and Frelinghuysen Almanac" New York, 1845, giving one hundred reasons why Clay should be elected President; "Gen. Taylor's Rough and Ready Almanac" Philadelphia, 1848, with anecdotes of the Mexican War; "The Cass and Butler Almanac" Philadelphia, 1849, with sketches of the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-president; "The Free-Soil Almanac" Rochester, 1849, devoted to the election of Van Buren and Adams; "The North Western Free-Soil Almanac," Chicago, 1849, filled with arguments against General Taylor and his influence; and "The Know Nothing Almanac," New York, 1855, an anti-Catholic publication issued to support the cause of the Know Nothing party in the campaign of 1856.

The leading political almanacs, however, were "The Whig Almanac" and "The Democrat's Almanac." Although there was an almanac with the title of "The Whig Almanac" published in New York for 1835, the first regular issue was "The Whig Almanac, and Politician's Register" for 1838, published by Horace

Greeley, called "The Politician's Register" from 1839 to 1841, "The Whig Almanac" from 1843 to 1855, and "The Tribune Almanac" from 1856 on. "The Democrat's Almanac and Political Register" began at New York in 1839, was continued to 1843 and revived for one year in 1848. These two almanacs gave election returns and expounded the principles of their respective parties. The Tribune issue became the oldest of the newspaper almanacs, which today are the leading almanacs of the country. The Albany "Evening Journal Almanac" began in 1858, "The World Almanac" in 1868, the Philadelphia "Public Ledger Almanac" in 1870, the Hartford "Courant Almanac" in 1873, the Albany "Argus Almanac" in 1874, the "Baltimore Sun Almanac" in 1876, the "Chicago Daily News Almanac" in 1885, the "Brooklyn Daily Eagle Almanac" in 1886, and the "Providence Journal Almanac" in 1887.

Many critics are wont to think disparagingly of the literary value of almanacs. But until American literature first became so recognized, a decade or two after the Revolution, it is doubtful if any body of material would be so fruitful for research as the almanacs. Every year in numerous localities these annuals were printing contributions of wit or poetry or essays—little of it good and most of it strikingly bad, but occasionally a flash of native genius worthy of more permanent surroundings. Franklin's famous "Poor Richard" series has been studied to the exclusion of most of his competitors. His poetry is labored, and there is little question but that his literary fame rests mostly on his Proverbs and his Autobiography. Titan Leeds frequently wrote a verse of good poetry, for instance in his 1737 "American Almanack" printed at Philadelphia:

Ye Britons, who the Fruit of Commerce find,
How is your Isle a Debtor to the Wind,
Which thither wafts Arabia's fragrant Spoils,
Gemms, Pearls and Spices from the Indian Isles.

From Persia Silks, Wines from Iberia's Shore,
 Peruvian Drugs, and Guinea's Golden Oar?
 Delights and Wealth to fair Augusta flow
 From ev'ry Region whence the Winds can blow.

Nathaniel Ames, whose almanacs were the standard in New England from 1726 until his death in 1764, wrote considerable poetry of vigorous and imaginative quality, especially in his descriptions of the seasons. His Almanac for 1743 has this verse to illustrate the rigors of December:

But when the angry Surge begins to rage,
 And thro' the boundless Waste, the Tempests roar,
 O Gracious God, do thou their Wrath assuage,
 And bid the frightning Whirlwinds storm no more.
 Let gentle Pity flow within thy Breast,
 Oh, Cheer his melting Soul, and give the wearied
 Sailor rest.

There are sufficient poems in American almanacs to make a sizeable anthology. It is impossible to give many more illustrations, but a poem in Bioren's Almanac for 1819, entitled "Life's Likeness," seems particularly beautiful, as is instanced by the first three of its nine verses:

Life is—what!
 It is the shooting of a star,
 That gleams along the trackless air,
 And vanishes, almost ere seen, to naught,
 And such is man—
 He shines and flutters for a span,
 And is forgot.

Life is—what?
 It is the vermeil of the rose,
 That blooms but till the bleak wind blows,
 Then, all entombed, in sweets, doth fade and rot.
 And such is man—
 He struts in bravery for a span,
 And is forgot.

Life is—what?
It is the dew drop of the morn,
That quiv'ring, hangs upon the thorn,
Till quaff'd by sun-beams, 'tis no longer aught.
And such is man—
He's steep'd in sorrow for a span,
And melts, forgot.

Well known writers occasionally contributed to American almanacs, or at least their productions were reprinted. The famous Parson Weems contributed his "Hymen's Recruiting Serjeant" to the "Virginia Almanac" for 1800, which rare publication was printed at Fredericksburg expressly for the bookseller divine. Fessenden's poem "Jonathan's Courtship" appeared in Beers' "Farmer's Almanack" Kingston, 1805. Willis and Whittier were frequent favorites with later almanac compilers. The "Atlantic Almanac" from 1868 to 1874 was a repository of the best in American prose and poetry.

The use of almanacs has been responsible for the preservation of a great mass of manuscript material relating to the lives of the early colonists. Thousands of diaries, with all their details of social and economic affairs, have come down to us, interleaved between the pages of the lowly almanac. Of the fifteen hundred diaries previous to the year 1800 recorded in Mrs. W.T. Forbes admirable book on "New England Diaries," fully half are in interleaved almanacs. Keeping a diary, or daily chronology of important events, was a prevalent failing in the colonial period, and the almanac was a convenient excuse for it. In fact the mere presence of that valued little annual often tempted the owner to indulge in writing down the record of daily happenings, and many a dairy begun only as a chronicle of unusual manifestations of the weather blossomed into a narrative of considerable historical value. Furthermore, the fact that such records were concealed within a printed pamphlet accounts for so many of them having been saved.

In conclusion, there is no better statement regarding the value and usefulness of almanacs than is to be found in Moses Coit Tyler's "History of American Literature."¹

"No one who would penetrate to the core of early American literature, and would read in it the secret history of the people in whose minds it took root and from whose minds it grew, may by any means turn away, in lofty literary scorn, from the almanac—most despised, most prolific, most indispensable of books, which every man uses, and no man praises; the very quack, clown, pack-horse, and pariah of modern literature, yet the one universal book of modern literature; the supreme and only literary necessity even in households where the Bible and the newspaper are still undesired or unattainable luxuries."

In this connection an exhibit of important almanacs has been installed in the cases in the exhibition hall. A list of eighty-seven almanacs has been prepared, almost entirely by Dr. Charles L. Nichols, whose knowledge of the subject is second to none and whose aid was most gratefully accepted. The list will accompany this report and will also be separately printed.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,
Librarian

¹Edition of 1878, vol. 2, p. 120.

EXHIBITION OF AMERICAN ALMANACS

OCTOBER, 1925

Samuel Danforth's Almanack for 1647. Cambridge.

The earliest extant perfect almanac and the only extant book with the imprint of Matthew Day, son of the first printer in British America. March was placed as the first month, a plan continued for forty years. This is a facsimile from the only copy, owned by H. E. Huntington.

T. S. (Thomas Shepard) Almanack for 1656. Cambridge.

The earliest in this collection and only known copy. Of 44 almanacs printed before 1687, 41 were prepared by 26 Harvard graduates.

John Foster's Almanack for 1675. Cambridge.

The first of six prepared by him, the remainder being printed also by him in Boston where he was the first printer. It contains the first wood-cuts in these books and they were without doubt made by him.

John Tulley's Almanack for 1687. Cambridge.

The first of his series, continued to 1702. In this January was placed as the first month and the feasts and fasts of the English Church were first recorded.

Daniel Leeds' Almanack for 1698. New York.

Printed by William Bradford, and the fifth New York Almanac.

John Tulley's Almanack for 1698. Cambridge.

This contains the first list of roads. The towns and their distances from Boston and New York were recorded and later the names of the tavern-keepers were added for the benefit of travelers.

Titan Leeds's Almanack for 1722. New York.

This series, started in 1714, was continued yearly both in New York and Philadelphia until 1744, the New York issue being "The Dead Man's Almanack."

Nathaniel Ames's Almanack for 1726. Boston.

The first of the series of this the most famous of the Almanac makers of the 18th century. At his death in 1764, it was continued to 1775 by his son, Nathaniel.

Robert Treat's Almanack for 1727. New London.

He was a graduate of Yale, in 1718, and placed on the title: "Calculated for the meridian of Yale College." This was the fifth of his series and the last almanac printed in Connecticut for 25 years, the interval being supplied by Ames of Boston.

Felix Leeds's Almanack for 1727. Philadelphia.

Daniel Leeds, his father, issued almanacs in Philadelphia from 1687 to 1693 and in New York from 1694 to his death in 1713. Titan, his brother continued, in New York and Philadelphia, from 1714. Felix issued this almanac because Titan left the family printer, Bradford.

Poor Robin's Almanack for 1732. Newport.

The first Rhode Island almanac was printed in 1728, by the first Rhode Island printer, James Franklin, brother of Benjamin. It is believed that the latter took his idea of Poor Richard from this. Poor Robin was the name of the first comic almanac in England.

Poor Richard for 1734. Philadelphia.

Poor Richard's Almanacks were a great success from the start in 1733. Franklin ceased to edit them with the issue for 1758, but his name remained as publisher for eight years longer.

Poor Richard's Almanack for 1737. By Richard Saunders.
Philadelphia.

The fifth issue of this famous series by Benjamin Franklin which was continued to 1793.

Poor Richard improved for 1748. Philadelphia.

In this, as in Franklin's other almanacs, the sayings, or proverbs, were interspersed with the calendar announcements.

The Hoch-Deutch Americanishe Calender for 1748.
C. Saur, Germantown.

Not the first German, but the most famous. It was issued and printed by Christop Saur, the first issue in 1738, and continued until purchased by Billmeyer in 1784 who carried it on until after 1800.

In 1743, Saur designed a title page which was recut by Fox in 1760 and used many years by Billmeyer.

Poor Richard's Almanack for 1749. Philadelphia.

This issue contains the first calendar pictures in the almanac. Imported from Germany, the wood blocks were purchased by Franklin with his first German partnership.

Roger Sherman's Almanack for 1750. Boston.

The first of Sherman's series, from 1750 to 1761, modeled after his friend Dr. Ames. It was issued in New York the same year, but was filled, by the printer, with material unsatisfactory to Sherman.

- Poor Job's Almanack for 1750.** Newport.
 This series followed the Poor Robin, being printed by James Franklin, the son, his mother, Widow Franklin, having continued the work until he came of age. This is the first of the series.
- A Pocket Almanack for 1753.** Philadelphia.
 Printed and sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall.
- Ames's Almanack for 1757.** Portsmouth.
 The first book printed in New Hampshire as the inset on the last page shows. Daniel Fowle, the first printer in New Hampshire, was driven from Boston by the persecution of the government.
- John Tobler's Almanack for 1757.** Philadelphia.
 Printed by Christopher Sower, Jr., it has an elaborate title page for this period. Tobler issued almanacs in South Carolina and Delaware also for many years.
- Poor Richard's Almanack for 1758.** Philadelphia.
 The most famous of this series as it contains the sayings of Benjamin Franklin, scattered through these almanacs, gathered in this issue in Father Abraham's Speech.
- Weatherwise, Father Abraham's Almanack for 1759.** Philadelphia.
 The first of the famous Weatherwise series, which were copied in other states. The calculations were made by David Rittenhouse, a noted astronomer, and the issues were filled with cuts of merit.
 This, the first, contained a folding plate of Frederick of Prussia, the first copper plate engraved in Philadelphia and signed, J. M. Aet. 14.
- John N. Hutchins' Almanack for 1761.** New York.
 This series began in 1742 and continued, with some interruption, until after 1850. This issue contains a wood-cut plan of Montreal.
- The Wilmington Almanack for 1762.** By Thomas Fox. Wilmington.
 The first almanac by the first Delaware printer, James Adams.
- Benjamin West's Almanack for 1763.** Providence.
 The first Providence almanac, and first of the West series which continued, under varying titles, to 1881. West was a famous astronomer and calculated for many other almanacs, Isaiah Thomas' being one.
- Bickerstaff's Almanack for 1768.** Boston.
 A noted series with many cuts, copied, as was the Weatherwise, by many because of its popularity. It was started by Benjamin West of Providence because of disagreement with his printer. The name was borrowed from Dean Swift's Almanac of 1707.

Edes & Gill's Almanack for 1769. Boston.

This almanac has a folding copper-plate frontispiece signed by Paul Revere, who had made cuts for other almanacs.

Edes & Gill's Almanack for 1770. Boston.

This has a full page wood-cut of Boston, from the harbor, signed by Paul Revere.

Isaiah Thomas's Massachusetts Calendar for 1772. Boston.

The first almanac by Isaiah Thomas.

John Anderson's Almanack for 1772. Newport.

The first of a long series, printed until 1780, in Newport, and then transferred to Providence and issued until 1803 by Bennett Wheeler who is said to have used the pseudonym, John Anderson.

Edmund Freebetter's Connecticut Almanack for 1774.
New London.

Freebetter is believed to be a pseudonym of Nathan Daboll who, after 1793 used his own name. As "The New England Almanack" this series has been continued by his family to the present day. The issue shown is the third of this long issue but contains a wood-cut of Daboll on the title page.

Samuel Stearns's North American's Almanack for 1775.
Worcester.

The Stearns series began at Boston in 1770 and continued irregularly until 1793 in various places. This issue contains the account by Rev. Wm. Gordon of the battle of Lexington.

Daniel George's Almanack for 1776. Salem.

George, a cripple in a wheel-chair, began this series at the age of 17 and continued it until 1787. The second edition has a wood-cut of Gen. Warren.

Isaiah Thomas's Mass., N. H., and Conn. Almanack for 1779.
Worcester.

The first of the Thomas Worcester series which continued, without a break, until 1820.

The New England Almanack for 1781. Worcester.

Calculated by Nehemiah Strong, Professor of Mathematics at Yale. He issued almanacs in Connecticut, or calculated for them, from 1775 to 1809.

Eliakim Perry's Almanack for 1785. Bennington.

This has been considered the first issued in Vermont, but an almanac for 1784 is advertized in the Vermont Gazette in 1783, although no copy has been found.

Samuel Ellsworth's Astronomical Diary for 1785. Bennington.

The preface says that he issued an almanac the previous year, so that Ellsworth's not Perry's was the first in Vermont.

Charles R. Webster's Almanack for 1787. Albany.

The first was issued in New York in 1784 but moved to Albany in the following year and is still issued, the longest without a break in this country.

Weatherwise's Almanack for 1787. Portland.

Advertized as the first almanac in Maine and the first calculated for the meridian of Portland.

Robert B. Thomas's Old Farmer's Almanac for 1793.

Boston.

The first issue of this almanac which has been carried on by the family without a break.

Almanack and Register for the State of Vermont for 1794.

Walpole.

The first Vermont Register but printed in New Hampshire by Thomas & Carlisle at their Walpole office.

The Kentucky Almanac for 1794. John Bradford, Lexington.

The third issue of the first almanac in Kentucky and printed by the first printer of that State, in the third year of statehood.

Bannaker's Penn., Del., Md., And Virginia Almanac for 1795.

Philadelphia.

Benjamin Bannaker was a negro who was a friend of Jefferson. His grandfather assisted in the survey of the site of Washington, D. C. The issue shown is the third but contains a wood-cut of Bannaker on the title page.

The Jefferson Almanac for 1802.

Baltimore.

George Keating, on the title page, writes: "In 1801, I pledged myself to give the purchaser an almanac for 1802 in case Thomas Jefferson was not elected President of the United States."

Gale's North Carolina Almanack for 1804. By P. Brooks.

Raleigh.

This almanac was continued yearly until 1833.

Annuaire Lousianais pour 1809. By B. Lafon. New Orleans.

This contains the treaty and correspondence between the French and American Republics relating to the transfer of Louisiana in 1803.

The Poor Clergyman's Almanack for 1809.

Boston.

A series for the clergy and continued until 1822. Another yearly issue of the same was entitled Clergyman's Minor and contained but half the number of pages.

John Lathrop's Gentleman's Pocket Almanac and Free-Mason's Vade Mecum for 1814. Boston.

This almanac contains a short history of Masonry and was one of the first to deal with this subject.

American Naval Almanac for 1815. Philadelphia.

Contains interesting accounts of naval battles, and full-page woodcuts of American ships of war.

The Planters' and Merchants' Almanac for 1817. Charleston, S. C.

The first of a long series published for over a century and known as Miller's Almanac.

Thomas Spofford's Almanack for 1817. Haverhill.

The first of the Spofford series which were issued in Massachusetts until 1844 and then in New York until after 1850. It contained a large variety of information and was very popular.

The Miniature Almanack for 1818. Boston.

The earliest Miniature almanac and the series ran in Boston and other places until after 1850.

The Chilicothe Almanac for 1819. (No. 1) Chilicothe.

It contains a statement of the Land System, the laws and Land taxes, of interest to that newly settled part of our country.

The National Calendar for 1820. By Peter Force. Washington.

This valuable series continued to the year 1836, except 1825-6-7 and contained lists of all officers in the departments and important statistics of the condition of the country.

The Christian Almanack for 1821. Boston.

The object of this series was to awaken religious feeling in America and it was continued under auspices of the American Tract Society until 1840. From 1824 it was published in New York and from 1825 in Philadelphia under the same auspices.

The Lafayette Almanac for 1825. Philadelphia.

This was issued in consequence of Lafayette's visit to this country and contains a portrait of him on the title page.

The Anti-Masonic Almanack for 1828. By Edward Giddings. Rochester.

Captain Wm. Morgan's book "Illustrations of Masonry" led to his capture and death in 1826 and this first number, was the earliest of a series published from 1829 to 1835 in Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey, in consequence of this unfortunate act.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1830. (No. 1) Boston.

This series, which continued until 1861, was started by Jared Sparks. It contained important literary and statistical information.

The American Comic Almanack for 1831. Boston.

The first of many comic almanacs issued during the following twenty-five years in Massachusetts, New York and Philadelphia.

The United States Workingman's Almanack for 1831. Boston.

The first almanac devoted to labor and contains very moderate statements of the condition of labor in Europe and at home.

Green's Anti-Intemperance Almanack for 1831. New London.

This preceded the regular series issued under the auspices of the State Temperance Societies of New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Middlebrook's Connecticut Almanac for 1834. Hartford.

On the title page of this issue, of a series from 1806 to long after 1850, is the first cut of a railroad train, and in the issue of 1839 "Success to the Hartford & New Haven R. R." is printed under the cut. Beer's South Carolina Almanac for 1839 has the same cut with the words under it, "Success to the *Carolina* R. R."

Applegate's Whig Almanac for 1835. New York.

"Embellished" with fifty engravings. Filled with political gossip and poetry.

Davy Crockett's Almanack of Wild Sports in the West for 1835. Nashville.

This series is filled with thrilling pictures of wild beasts and men. In 1839 it was also published in New York and after 1840 solely there and continued until after 1850.

The American Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1836. Boston and New York.

Published in Boston for three years, it was continued in New York until 1844 under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Illinois Farmer's Almanac for 1837. By R. Goudy, Jr. Jacksonville, Ill.

Number three of an important Western almanac series.

The Lady's Annual Register for 1838. By Caroline Gilman. Boston.

This almanac was devoted to ladies' interests and contained advice on household matters and cooking receipts.

- The Harrison Almanac for 1841.** New York.
A political almanac to exalt the life and deeds of Gen. Harrison. Another was issued in Philadelphia the same year.
- The Tippecanoe and Log Cabin Almanac for 1841.** New York.
Sketches and pictures of Gen. William Henry Harrison, Whig candidate for the presidency.
- The Anti-Mormon Almanac for 1842.** New York.
It explains the Mormon bible and its influence on daily life. Contains wood-cut of his Satanic Majesty kicking Joseph Smith, Jr.
- The Cold Water Almanac for 1843.** Boston.
A continuation of the Temperance movement, it contains a pledge and was used by the local societies.
- The Henry Clay Almanac for 1844** Philadelphia.
Biography of, also songs, and anecdotes illustrative of the Whig candidate for the presidency. Contains poem by Whittier.
- The Stove Almanac for 1844.** By L. V. Badger. Boston.
Prepared by a dealer to explain air tight stoves and furnaces and give rules for use of Anthracite coal.
- The Peace Almanac for 1845.** New York.
To arouse sentiment against wars at the time when the Mexican war was threatening. Another issue followed in 1846.
- The Clay and Frelinghuysen Almanac for 1845.** New York.
It gives one hundred reasons why Clay should be elected; an interesting campaign document.
- Gen. Taylor's "Rough and Ready" Almanac for 1848.** Philadelphia.
It contains anecdotes regarding the Mexican war.
- The Free-Soil Almanac for 1849.** Rochester.
Devoted to the election of Van Buren and Adams, with biographies, political sketches and songs. Cover has portrait of Van Buren and title page one of Charles Francis Adams.
- American Free Soil Almanac for 1849.** Boston.
It contains Free Soil Peans by J. G. Whittier. First published in this almanac.
- The Herald Almanac for 1849.** New York.
Published by James Gordon Bennett. The first almanac in the United States, carrying the name of a newspaper.

- The North-Western Free-Soil Almanac for 1849. Chicago.
It is filled with arguments against Gen. Taylor and the Southern influence which controlled the country. This year a Free Soil Almanac was published in Boston and Rochester, also.
- The Know Nothing Almanac for 1855. New York.
Anti-Catholic publication issued to support the cause of the Know-Nothing Party.
- The Woman's Rights Almanac for 1857. Worcester.
A temperate and interesting statement of the issue new at that time as a national movement.
- The California Pictorial Almanac for 1859. San Francisco.
Among numerous cuts is one of Sutter's Fort in 1848 when and where the first gold was found in California.
- The Confederate States Almanac for 1862. Nashville.
It contains important statistics and memorabilia of the war.
- Grier's Southern Almanac for 1863. Atlanta.
Notes on the war, and receipts for making bread from rice flour.
- The Confederate States Almanac for 1864. (No. 3) Mobile.
It contains the constitution of the confederacy, resources of the South and a diary of the war.

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HOW MASSACHUSETTS RECEIVED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

BY JOHN HENRY EDMONDS

AN ACCOUNT of the Commerce of the English Colonies of America, edited by Edmund Halley, F. R. S., in 1728, says:

I cannot close this summary Account of the English Trade, and especially its Circulation among themselves in America, without some Remarks, which I would have been larger upon, if I had had room.

By this absolute Dependance of the English Colonies in America upon one another for the carrying on their Trade, it appears how groundless those Notions are which some People have entertain'd, concerning the Danger of the Colonies of New England breaking off from the English Yoke, and setting up for an Independency of Government, and a Freedom of Commerce.

Were it possible that any other Nation, or all the Nations of the Earth, could first supply them with the Manufactures of Europe as cheap as the English can, and could then take off or consume the Growth of their Country as the English do, on which last especially their Prosperity depends, there might be some room for the Suggestion.

But as it is surely never any Notion of this kind was so groundless. It is allow'd a proper and just way of expressing our selves in Trade, to say, that Merchants cannot do a thing which they cannot do to their Advantage; and that such a thing is impossible to be done in Trade, which is impossible to be done without ruin to the Trade we are speaking of.

Upon this foot I must insist, it is impossible that the People of New England, be they as opulent and powerful as can be suggested, can ever break off from their Subjection to and Dependance upon the British Government, without the Consent of Great Britain; because it is impossible they can ever do so without the Destruction of their Commerce, and consequently without the Ruin of the Colony.

I have added the Words, without the Consent of Great Britain, not that Great Britain can be supposed ever to give their Consent to such a Separation, but for the Reason following.

As we are sure then, and may take it for granted without begging the Question, that Great Britain will never consent to such a Separation or Independency; we may likewise say, it will naturally follow, that upon any such Attempt the Government of Great Britain would immediately forbid all Commerce between them and our Island Colonies: Nay, it is done in the very Nature of the thing; for if New England were set up for an Independency, and so (as necessarily would follow) were broken off from the English Government, the Trade between them and the Islands would be *ipso facto* prohibited by the Act of Navigation, and every Ship coming to any of our Island Colonies would be confiscated, with all its Cargo.¹

Then follows a discussion as to what New England would do in the matter of trade, which is summed up as follows:

Without their Conjunction with, and Subjection to England, they could not have a Market for their Produce, and could not consume their Provisions.

Without a Market for their Produce, they could not raise a Return to pay the Ballance of their Trade to Europe.

Without paying that Ballance, they could not be supply'd with European Goods.

Without a Supply of European Goods, their Trade could not be supported.

And if their Trade is not supported, their Colony would be undone.

From all which the Inference is natural, That it is a ridiculous and groundless Suggestion, that there is any danger of New England's casting off the British Yoke, as they would call it; and it is impossible the Colony can set up an Independency, or break off from its Subjection to Britain, because it cannot do so without being ruin'd and undone.

Another useful Observation, which ought to be made here, and which, according to my Method in the Trade of all other Parts of the World, I should at large have entred upon, is an Account of what glorious Improvements in Trade these Colonies on the Continent of America are capable of, with the concurring Assistance of Great Britain; which would not only increase and enlarge the Colonies to a degree infinitely beyond

¹Halley, "Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis." . . . London, 1728, p. 330.

what they now are, and add thousands of Families to their People, and thousands of Ships to their Navigation, but would yet farther contribute, if that were possible, to bind them down to their Dependance upon Great Britain.³

On January 15, 1776, Samuel Adams, in Philadelphia, wrote to John Adams, in Massachusetts:

A motion was made in Congress the other day, to the following purpose; That whereas we had been charged with aiming at independency, a committee should be appointed to explain to the people at large, the principles and grounds of our opposition, &c. The motion alarmed me. I thought Congress had already been explicit enough, and was apprehensive that we might get ourselves upon dangerous ground. Some of us prevailed so far as to have the matter postponed, but could not prevent the assigning a day to consider it. I may perhaps have been wrong in opposing this motion; and I ought the rather to suspect it, because the majority of your [our] colony, as well as of the Congress, were of a different opinion.

I had lately some free conversation with an eminent gentleman, whom you well know, and whom your Portia in one of her letters admired, [Franklin] if I recollect right, for his *expressive silence*, about a confederation; a matter which our much valued friend Colonel W[ylthe], is very solicitous to have completed. We agreed that it must soon be brought on, and that if all the colonies could not come into it, it had better be done by those of them that inclined to it. I told him that I would endeavor to unite the New England colonies in confederating it, if *none* of the rest would join in it. He approved of it, and said, if I succeeded, he would cast in his lot among us.⁴

On January 25, in Continental Congress, John Dickinson, James Wilson, William Hooper, James Duane and Robert Alexander were appointed to prepare an address to the inhabitants of the United Colonies⁴ and on February 13 they brought in a draft, which was laid on the table,⁵ in which they disavow "carrying on the War 'for the Purpose of establishing an independent Empire' " and "declare, that what we aim at, and what we are entrusted by you to pursue, is

³Halley, "Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis." . . . London, 1728, p. 330.

⁴Ford, "Journals of Continental Congress," vol 4, p. 57 hereafter referred to as "Journals."

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 134-146.

the Defence and Re-establishment of the constitutional Rights of the Colonies."⁶

On May 9, the Massachusetts House of Representatives (then sitting at the Meeting House in Watertown) "On Motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. Speaker [James Warren], Major [Joseph] *Hawley*, and Mr. [William] *Story*, be a Committee to bring in a Resolve recommending the several Towns in the Colony to give Instructions to their Representatives, with respect to INDEPENDENCE."⁷

On that afternoon,

The Committee appointed to bring in a Resolve, recommending the Towns to instruct their Representatives with Respect to Independency, reported.

Read and accepted.

Resolved, That it be, and hereby is recommended to each Town in this Colony, who shall send a Member or Members to the next General Assembly, fully to possess him or them with their Sentiments relative to a Declaration of Independency of the United Colonies on Great-Britain, to be made by Congress, and to instruct them what Conduct they would have them observe with Regard to the next General Assembly's instructing the Delegates of this Colony on that Subject.

Sent up for Concurrence.

Ordered, That Capt. [Jonathan] Brown get the foregoing Resolve printed in Hand Bills, and sent to the several Towns in this Colony.⁸

On May 10,

On a Motion, *Ordered*, That a Message go [to] the honorable Board to know if they have passed on the Resolve of Yesterday, relating to requesting the Inhabitants of the several Towns to Instruct their Members to be chosen relating to Independency.

Samuel Holten, Esq; came down and informed the House that the Board had non-concurred the same;

Thereupon *Ordered*, That the Secretary be directed to lay the said Resolve on the Table, which he did accordingly.⁹

A little later on in the day (which was the last of the session) the House found a way to overcome the non-concurrence of the Council and

⁶"Journals," vol. 4, p. 141

⁷"Journal of the House of Representatives," 1775/6, p. 266, hereafter referred to as "Journal."

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 274.

Resolved, As the Opinion of this House that the Inhabitants of each Town, in this Colony, ought in full Meeting warned for that Purpose, to advise the Person or Persons who shall be chosen to Represent them in the next General Court, whether that if the honorable Congress should, for the Safety of the said Colonies, declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great-Britain, they the said Inhabitants will solemnly engage with their Lives and Fortunes to Support the Congress in the Measure.

Ordered, That Mr. [William] Cooper get the foregoing Resolve printed in the several News-Papers as soon as possible.¹⁰

and it was printed in the Boston Gazette, New England Chronicle, etc.

There are no letters to the General Court in the Massachusetts Archives suggesting the action of May 9, nor is there any mention of such in either the House Journal or the Council Records (Legislative or Executive). The following letter of May 13, written to Samuel Adams by Dr. Samuel Cooper, may explain it:

I am much oblig'd to you for your Favor 30th Apr. which I receiv'd by the Post the Evening before last, and am glad to find Affairs are in so good a Train in the Southern Colonies; In N. England the Voice is almost universal for Independance . . . Our General Court is dissolved—Before this took place, the House pass'd a Vote to consult their Constituents, whether they would instruct their future Representatives to move the Continental Congress for Independance—I can only assure you of the Substance of the Vote; the Form of it was not clearly related to me. The House sent up this Vote to the Council for their Concurrence—The Propriety of this was doubted by some, who did not think the Council could properly act on such an affair. It was however done, and the Council negativ'd the Vote. Mr Cushing among others was against it. He said that it would embarass the Congress—that we ought to wait till they mov'd the Question to us—that it would prejudice the other Colonies against us—and that you had wrote to some Body here, that things with you were going on slowly and surely, and any Kind of Eagerness in us upon this Question would do Hurt. Others said that the Congress might not choose to move such a Point to their Constituents tho they might be very glad to know their minds upon it—that it was beginning at the right End for the Constituents to instruct their Delegates at Congress, & not wait for their asking Instructions

¹⁰"Journal," 1775/6, p. 276.

from their Constituents—that the Question had been long thought of & agitated thro the Colonies, & it was now high Time to come to some Determination upon it; otherwise our artful Enemies might sew the Seeds of Dissention among us to the great Prejudice if not Ruin of the common Cause. The House, tho they would have been glad of the Concurrence of the Council in this Matter, have determin'd to proceed without them; and Instructions will go from all Parts on this Head; and it seems, by Appearances thro the Continent, you will not be able to defer a great While your Decision on this grand Question.—¹¹

The General Court, as above mentioned, was dissolved by the Council without any further action and did not reassemble until May 29 at the Meeting House in Watertown.

On June 6,

Inquiry was made of the Members from the several towns, whether they had instructions from their respective towns, with regard to independency. Many of whom informed the House, that their towns were unanimous for the measure. Other towns had not instructed their Representatives.

Ordered, That Col. [John] Cumings, Mr. [Aaron] Wood, and Mr. [Joseph] Dorr, bring in a resolve to notify such towns to forward their sentiments on this subject, without delay.¹²

On June 7,

The Committee appointed to bring in a resolve, recommending to those towns which have not yet instructed their Representatives with regard to independency, to forward their sentiments on that subject, without delay, reported.

Read and accepted.

Whereas by a resolve of the late House, the 10th of May, 1776, it was resolved, That the inhabitants of each town in this colony ought, in full meeting warned for that purpose, to advise the person or persons who should be chosen to represent them in the next General Court, whether, should the Honorable Congress, for the safety of the said Colonies, declare them independent of the kingdom of Great-Britain, they, the said inhabitants, will solemnly engage, with their lives and fortunes, to support them in the measure. And though said resolve was published in the public news-papers, yet it has since been manifest to the present House, that some towns in the said colony, were not so seasonably favored with the said prints, as to have it in their power to instruct their Representatives,

¹¹Hazleton, "The Declaration of Independence," pp. 50-52.

¹²"Journal," 1776/7, edition of 1777, p. 19.

agreeable to advice in said resolve (had they been so minded) so that the present General Assembly are unable to collect the sentiments of many towns in the said colony, on so interesting and important a subject. And as some towns, who had reasonable notice, have given their Representatives instructions to comply fully with the resolve aforesaid, whose numbers, to the honor of their constituents, are very numerous; and as some of the United Colonies have of late bravely refused to subject themselves to the tyrannical yoke of Great-Britain any longer, by declaring for independence.

Therefore, *Resolved*, As the opinion of this House, that such towns as have not complied with the resolve aforesaid, whether they are represented or not, duly warn a town-meeting for such purpose, as soon as may be, that their sentiments may be fully known to this House, agreeable to the former resolve of the late House of Representatives; and that one hundred and fifty hand-bills be forthwith printed and sent to such towns for the purpose aforesaid.¹³

A copy of this broadside (Ford, No. 1988) is at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

On June 14,

Benjamin Austin, Esq.; brought down a letter from the Hon. Edmund Pendleton, Esq; President of the General Convention of the colony of Virginia, inclosing the resolutions of that Convention, with respect to independency [which reads as follows]. Read, and order to lie.¹⁴

Virginia May 22^d 1776.

Sir:

I am honored with the Commands of the General Convention of this Colony to transmit you the Inclosed Resolutions, which they have thought it indispensably necessary to enter into at this important Crisis; requesting you will communicate their Contents to the Convention of your Country for their consideration. I have the Hon^r. to be

Sir

Your mo^t Obed^t Servant
Edm Pendleton
President

Honble the Pres^t of the Convention
of the Massachusetts Bay.

In Council June 14th 1776

Read & sent down

John Lowell Dp^y Sec^y P T¹⁵

¹³"Journal," 1776/7, edition of 1777, p. 21.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁵Mass. Archives, vol. 195, p. 9.

IN CONVENTION.

PRESENT 112 MEMBERS.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1776.

FORASMUCH as all the endeavours of the United Colonies, by the most decent representations and petitions to the king and parliament of Great Britain, to restore peace and security to America under the British government, and a reunion with that people upon just and liberal terms, instead of a redress of grievances, have produced, from an imperious and vindictive administration, increased insult, oppression, and a vigorous attempt to effect our total destruction. By a late act, all these colonies are declared to be in rebellion, and out of the protection of the British crown, our properties subjected to confiscation, our people, when captivated, compelled to join in the murder and plunder of their relations and countrymen, and all former rapine and oppression of Americans declared legal and just. Fleets and armies are raised, and the aid of foreign troops engaged to assist these destructive purposes: The king's representative in this colony hath not only withheld all the powers of government from operating for our safety, but, having retired on board an armed ship, is carrying on a piratical and savage war against us, tempting our slaves, by every artifice to resort to him, and training and employing them against their masters. In this state of extreme danger, we have no alternative left but an abject submission to the will of those over-bearing tyrants, or a total separation from the crown and government of Great Britain, uniting and exerting the strength of all America for defence, and forming alliances with foreign powers for commerce and aid in war: Wherefore appealing to the SEARCHER OF HEARTS for the sincerity of former declarations, expressing our desire to preserve the connection with that nation, and that we are driven from that inclination by their wicked councils, and the eternal laws of self-preservation,

Resolved unanimously, that the delegates appointed to represent this colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of this colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, and a confederation of the colonies, at such time, and in the manner, as to them shall seem best: Provided, that the power of forming government for, and the regulations of the internal concerns of each colony, be left to the respective colonial legislatures.

Resolved unanimously, that a committee ought to be appointed to prepare a DECLARATION of RIGHTS, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people.

EDMUND PENDLETON, president:
(*A copy.*)

JOHN TAZEWELL, clerk of the Convention.¹⁶

On July 3, the Massachusetts House of Representatives *Ordered*, That Mr. [John] Pitts, Mr [] Watson and Mr. [Samuel] Osgood, be a committee to prepare a letter to the Delegates of this colony, at the Continental Congress, on the subject of independency.

On motion, it was *Voted, unanimously*, That if the Honorable Continental Congress should think proper to declare the Colonies independent of the kingdom of Great-Britain, this House will approve of the measure.¹⁷

No further action is found in the Journal, and the General Court was prorogued on July 13 until August 28.¹⁸

In Continental Congress, June 7, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia (pursuant to the instructions in the above Resolutions) presented the following:

Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

That is it expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign Alliances.

That a plan for confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation.¹⁹

Consideration was postponed until the 8th, when it was referred to the committee of the whole on the 10th.²⁰

¹⁶Mass. Archives, vol. 138 p. 315½. Evans no. 15200 adds [Williamsburg: Printed by Alexander Purdie, 1779], evidently a misprint for 1776, as it reached Boston on or before June 14, 1776.

¹⁷"Journal," 1776/7, edition of 1777, p. 58.

¹⁸Acknowledgment is here made to Mr. Willard F. DeLue for his kind assistance and suggestions.

¹⁹"Journals," vol. 5, p. 425.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 426, 427.

On June 10, the committee of the whole having reported, it was

Resolved, That the consideration of the first resolution be postponed to this day, three weeks [July 1], and in the mean while, that no time be lost, in case the Congress agree thereto, that a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect of the said first resolution, which is in these words:

That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown: and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved," and the committee was discharged.²¹

On June 11, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston were chosen a committee to prepare the Declaration,²² which they brought in on June 28, written in the hand of Jefferson, with occasional changes by Adams and Franklin²³; and it was duly "Ordered, To lie on the table."

From now on the first *resolution* of June 7, and the *declaration* reported June 28 were considered separately and referred to in the Journals as "*resolution*" and "*declaration*."

On July 1, Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to consider the *resolution respecting independence* and the *declaration*. After a nine-hour debate Benjamin Harrison for the committee reported to Congress that they had agreed to the *resolution*, and said "*resolution . . .* being read, the determination thereof was postponed, at the request of a colony, [i.e., South Carolina]²⁴ till to-morrow."

On July 2, "Congress resumed the consideration of the *resolution* agreed to by and reported from the committee of the whole; and the same being read, was agreed to as follows:"

Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and, of right, ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are

²¹"Journals," vol. 5, pp. 428, 429.

²²Ibid., p. 431.

²³Ibid., pp. 491-502.

²⁴Hazelton. The Declaration of Independence, p. 163.

absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them, and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.²⁵

Again Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, took up the *declaration*, and after some time Benjamin Harrison for the committee reported they "had under consideration the *declaration* to them referred; but not having had time to go through the same, desired leave to sit again," which was granted and the consideration was continued through the 3d.

On July 4, after some further consideration, Benjamin Harrison for the committee of the whole reported to Congress (again in session) "that the committee . . . have agreed to a *Declaration*, which he delivered in," and being read again, it was agreed to unanimously by all of the delegates, save those of New York, who had no power to act.²⁶

It was further

Ordered, That the declaration be authenticated and printed.

That the committee appointed to prepare the declaration, superintend and correct the press.

That copies of the declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army.²⁷

On July 19, it was

Resolved, That the Declaration passed on the 4th, be fairly engrossed on parchment, with the title and stile of "The unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America," and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress.²⁸

and on August 2, "being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed [by the members]."²⁹

Pursuant to the order of July 4, the Declaration was printed officially by John Dunlap of Philadelphia.

²⁵"Journals," vol. 5, pp. 504-507.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 509-516.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 516.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 590, 591.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 626.

July 5 and 6, and reprinted (for the first time in any newspaper) in the "Pennsylvania Evening Post" of July 6. John Hancock, as President, sent copies of this broadside on July 6 to General Washington³⁰, to the "Hon[oura]ble Assembly of Massachusetts Bay," and to the other Colonies, enclosed in letters reading as follows:

Philad^a July 6th 1776.

Honble Gentlemen,

Altho it is not possible to foresee the Consequences of Human Actions, yet it is nevertheless a Duty we owe ourselves and Posterity in all our public Counsels, to decide in the best Manner we are able, and to trust the Events to that Being, who controuls both Causes and Events, so as to bring about his own Determinations.

Impressed with this Sentiment, & at the same Time fully convinced, that our Affairs may take a more favourable Turn, the Congress have judged it necessary to dissolve all Connection between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and to declare them free and independent States; as you will perceive by the enclosed Declaration, which I am directed by Congress to transmit to you, and to request you will have it proclaimed in your Colony in the Way you shall think most proper.

The important Consequences to the American States from this Declaration of Independence, considered as the Ground and Foundation of a future Government, will naturally suggest the Propriety of proclaiming it in such Manner, that the People may be universally informed of it.

I have the Honour to be

with great Respect,
Gentlemen,
Your most obed^t
& very hble Ser.

John Hancock Presid^t

Honble Assembly of Massachusetts Bay.³¹

In June 1925, the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce issued a fac-simile of the first and second pages of "The Virginia Gazette," published at Williamsburg, July 26, 1776, headed "The Greatest 'Scoop' in History," which was distributed at the meeting of the National Editorial Association at Richmond.

³⁰"Journals," vol. 5, p. 1121.

³¹Mass. Archives, vol. 195, pp. 73, 74.

It purports to be a reproduction of "the first publication of the Declaration in newspaper history," and further says: "Papers in New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere commented on the Declaration as noted in news dispatches on the back of this paper but evidently did not consider it of enough importance to produce it in full."

Unfortunately for the "Scoop," newspapers from Philadelphia to Portsmouth had printed the entire Declaration in turn, daily (except Sundays) from July 6 to July 22. The printings in "The Pennsylvania Evening Post" of July 6 and "The Virginia Gazette" of July 26 (except for a few typographical errors) are close copies of the first official broadside printed by Dunlap and sent to all the Colonies by Congress.

Rather curiously, "The Virginia Gazette" printed extracts on July 19 and only printed the Declaration in full on July 26, after the Council of Virginia on July 20 had ordered it to be published.³²

General Washington caused the Declaration to be proclaimed before all the army under his command at New York on July 10, and on the 11th reported the same to John Hancock and that he had transmitted a copy to General Ward at Boston, requesting him to have it proclaimed to the Continental troops in that department, but he said nothing about the copy he had sent to the General Court of Massachusetts, enclosed in the following letter:

New York July the 9th 1776

Gent^l

You will perceive by the Inclosed Declaration, which I have the honor to Transmit to you, that Congress of late have been employed in deliberating on matters of the utmost Importance. Impelled by necessity and a repetition of Injuries unsufferable, without the most distant prospect of releif, they have asserted the claims of the American Colonies to the rights of Humanity and declared them Free and Independent States.

³²Hazelton, "The Declaration of Independence," p. 273.

Judging from a variety of circumstances that the British Arms are meant to be directed this Campaign against the State of New York to effect Its reduction, they have empowered me to order the three fullest Regiments of their Troops in the Massachusetts bay to reinforce our Northern Army, as you will see by a Copy of their resolve which I have Inclosed. I have accordingly by the advice of my General Officers, requested General Ward to detach them with all possible expedition to Join that Army, and prevent the fatal and alarming consequences that would result from the Enemies passing the Lakes and making an Impression on our Frontiers. I am almost morally certain that no Attempts will be made on the Massachusetts bay, and If there should they must prove abortive and ineffectual, the Militia Independent of other Troops being more than competent to all the purposes of defensive War. However should It be deemed expedient by your Hon^{ble} body, Congress have authorized you to embody and take into pay a number of Militia equal to the Regiments to be detached.

I have the honor to be
with great respect

Gent^m

Y^r Most Obed^t & H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o Washington

Hon^{ble} G^l Court of Massachusetts bay.³³

The express which left Philadelphia, Saturday, July 6, arrived at New York, Tuesday, July 9; Hartford, Thursday, July 11; Worcester, Sunday, July 14; Boston, Monday, July 15; and Exeter, July 16, having gone 30 miles out of its way to Portsmouth; and the Declaration was received everywhere with much jubilation.

According to the Massachusetts Spy of July 5, 1826,

The first time the Declaration of Independence was publicly read in Massachusetts, was in this town [Worcester]. The Express on his way to Boston, furnished Isaiah Thomas, Esq. with a copy for publication in this paper, of which he was at that time the publisher. The news of its receipt soon spread throughout the town, and a large concourse of people collected, all anxious to see or hear so extraordinary a document. To gratify their curiosity, Thomas ascended the portico of the South Meeting House, (then the only one in town,) and read it to those who were assembled. Half a century has since passed away, during which our country has increased in wealth, popu-

³³Mass. Archives, vol 195, pp. 80, 81.

lation and power, beyond all former precedent. Dr. Thomas still lives to witness the prosperity of the country, and yesterday joined in the celebration of independence in the same house from which he read the declaration fifty years ago.

Just preceding this in the *Spy* is an account of the fiftieth anniversary celebration, which reads as follows:

The 50th anniversary of our National Independence was celebrated in this town yesterday by the municipal authorities, and the citizens generally. The procession was formed at 11 o'clock, and moved to the South Meeting-House, where, after prayer by Dr. Bancroft, the Declaration of Independence was read by William Lincoln, Esq., and a chaste and appropriate Oration was delivered by Maj. Charles Allen. After the exercises were through at the Meeting-House, the procession again formed and retired to the Town Hall, where an entertainment was provided by Daniel P. Haynes, of which about 400 persons partook. Isaiah Thomas Esq. presided at the table.

The Massachusetts House of Representatives having been prorogued on July 13 (Saturday), the Council (in executive session) on the 15th (Monday)

On Motion Ordered, that John Winthrop, William Phillips & Francis Dana Esq^{rs} be a Committee to take into Consideration what Way manner & form the Declaration of y^e Hon^{ble} Continental Congress should be made Publick.³⁴

It is interesting to note that on the very next day the word "State" was introduced in an order relating to Inoculating Hospitals and that on the 17th the words "State House" and "State Street" appear in the Report given below, although the Town did not change the name of the street officially until July 4, 1788.

On July 17,

The Committee to whom was reffer'd, to take under Consideration what way manner & form, the Declaration of the Continental Congress shou'd be made Publick—Report that the said Declaration be proclaim'd by the Sherrif of the County of Suffolk, from the Balcony of the State House in Boston, on Thursday Next at One OClock P M—in Presence of & under Direction of a Comittee of Council to be appoint^d for that purpose, that the Representatives, Magistrates, Ministers &

³⁴Executive Records of Council of Massachusetts, vol. 19, p. 78.

Selectmen of the said Town, & Other Gentlemen, the Commission Officers of the Continent¹ Army, stationed in Boston, Also of the Militia of Boston & of the Colonial Regiments there, be desired to meet at y^e Council Chamber at that time, and that the Militia of the Town of Boston, & such of the Continent¹ Army, & of the Colonial Regiments as can be spared from Duty, be drawn Up in, State Street at y^e same time—And that the s^d Declaration be printed & a Cobby sent to the Ministers of every Parish, of every Denomination within this State, and that they severally be required to read the same to their respective Congregations, as soon as divine Service is Concluded in the Afternoon, of the first Lords Day, after they shall have receiv'd it, and after such Publication thereof to deliver the said Declaration to the Clerks of their respective Towns or Districts, who are hereby required to record the same in their respective Town or District Books, thereto remain as a perpetual Memorial thereof.—That the Committee of Council who shall be Appointed for the Abovementioned Purpose, be Impower'd to direct the Other proceedings relative to said Proclamation, in such manner as they shall Judge proper—By Order of y^e Council.

Richard Derby Jun^r Presid^t.

On Motion Ordered that James Bowdoin, Artemas Ward, Richard Derby, Thomas Cushing, John Winthrop, Moses Gill, Will^m Phillips, Benj^a Austin & Francis Dana Esq^r be a Committee to Repair to Boston, to direct the Manner relative to the Proclaiming the Declaration of Congress.³⁵

On Motion Ordered that Dan^l Hopkins Esq^r be directed to Print the Declaration of the Continental Congress, at Salem & bring them to Watertown.³⁶

On July 18,

On Motion Ordered that y^e Declaration be Publicly read by the Secretary [John Avery, Jr., Deputy Secretary] in y^e Council Chamber [at Watertown] and that the Representatives of this and the other Towns who are present, be invited to attend the said Publication.³⁷

On August 5,

Ordered, that the Secretary be directed to write to the Sheriff of y^e County of Suffolk to Acquaint him that the Printed Declaration of Independency, were on this Table—And y^e Board expected he wou'd take proper care that they be distributed thro' this State as soon as may be—That every

³⁵Executive Records of the Council of Massachusetts, vol. 19, p. 82.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 88.

Town may have them publicly read, in each religious Assembly,³⁸

which was attended to by the Deputy Secretary, in a letter to Sheriff [William] Greenleaf of even date.³⁹

The broadsides so distributed bear the imprint, "Salem, Massachusetts-Bay: Printed by E. Russell, by Order of Authority."⁴⁰ The copy at the Massachusetts Historical Society is endorsed:

On August 11th, 1776, after the Conclusion of Divine Service, I read this Declaration, conformable to the Order of the Council of State; and spake in Favour of a Compliance with the Continental Declaration. As witnesseth my Hand, Samuel Mather, [who was then pastor of an independent congregation in North Bennet St., Boston.]

At the time of the arrival of the Declaration at Watertown, the Council were about concluding a treaty with the St. Johns and Micmac Indians, and on Tuesday, July 16, they were informed by the President [James Bowdoin] that the

Colonies have lately by their great Council at Philadelphia, declared themselves free and Independent States, by the Name of the United States of America. the Certain News of it and the Declaration itself are just come to Us and we are glad of this Oppertunity to Inform you our Brothers of it. The said Great Council the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress Assembled Appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of their Intentions do in the Name & by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies Solemnly Publish and declare, that these United Colonies, are & of right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britian is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and independent States, they have full Power to levy Warr, Conclude Peace Contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and things, which Independent States may of right do, and for the Support of this Declaration with a firm relyance on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledge to each other, their Lives, their Fortunes, and their Sacred Honor.⁴¹

³⁸Executive Records of the Council of Massachusetts, vol. 19, p. 147.

³⁹Mass. Archives, vol. 195, p. 437.

⁴⁰Ford, no. 1955.

⁴¹Executive Records of the Council of Massachusetts, vol. 19, pp. 105, 106.

Then "the printed Declaration at large was produced to the Indians and the Interpreter M^r Prince fully explained it to them," and Ambrose (or Ombrius) Var of St. Johns River, answering for the Indians, said: "We like it well." The President then said:

This is the Declaration of the United States of America you and we therefore have now nothing to do with Great Britain, we are wholly Separated from her, and all the former Friendship and Connection with her are now dissolved. The United States now form a long and Strong Chain, and it is made longer and stronger by our Brethren of the S^t Johns and Micmack Tribes joining with us; and may Almighty God never suffer this Chain to be broken In pursuance and in full Confirmation of what has in these Conferences been agreed upon between us we now lay before you certain Articles of Alliance and Friendship, which if you approve of them we propose shall be mutually signed, Viz.^t, by you in behalf of the St. Johns & Micmack Tribes on the one part; and by us in behalf of the United States of America on the other part.⁴²

The Treaty commencing

Whereas the United States of America in General Congress Assembled, have in the Name, and by the Authority of the Good People of these Colonies Solemnly published and declared that these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and Independent States, that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them, and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved, and that as Free and Independent States they have full Power to Levy War, Conclude Peace, Contract Alliances, establish Commerce and to do all other Acts and things which Independent States may of right do We the Governors of the State of Massachusetts Bay do by Virtue thereof, and by the Powers vested in us enter into and conclude the Following Treaty of Friendship and Alliance.⁴³

was duly signed on July 19, the very day that the Continental Congress voted to have the Declaration engrossed on parchment and signed by every member. On Monday, July 15, General Ward received the copy of the Declaration sent him by General Washington at his headquarters in Boston, on Tuesday, the 16th gave

⁴²Executive Records of the Council of Massachusetts, vol. 19, p. 106.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 107.

"America" as parole and "Independence" as countersign, and on the morning of Wednesday the 17th had it read at the head of the regiments. A curious coincidence is that it was published in the "American Gazette" of Salem on July 16th (the first newspaper publication in Massachusetts) and in the "Massachusetts Spy" of Worcester on July 17th. On July 18th it was published in the "Continental Journal" and the "New England Chronicle" (both printed at Boston) and on July 22 in the "Boston Gazette" (the administration organ; printed by Benjamin Edes in Watertown).

According to the "Boston Gazette" of July 22,

Thursday last [July 18], pursuant to the Orders of the honorable Council, was proclaimed, from the Balcony of the State House in Boston, the DECLARATION of the AMERICAN CONGRESS, absolving the United Colonies from their Allegiance to the British Crown, and declaring them FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES. There were present on the Occasion, in the Council-Chamber, the Committee of Council, a Number of the honorable House of Representatives, the Magistrates, Ministers, Selectmen, and other Gentlemen of Boston and the neighbouring Towns; also the Commission Officers of the Continental Regiments stationed in Boston, and other Officers. Two of those Regiments were under Arms in Kingstreet, formed into three Lines on the North Side of the Street, and in thirteen Divisions; and a Detachment from the Massachusetts Regiment of Artillery, with two Pieces of Cannon was on their Right Wing. At One o'Clock the Declaration was proclaimed by the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk, which was received with great Joy, expressed by three Huzzas from a great Concourse of People assembled on the Occasion. After which, on a Signal given, Thirteen Pieces of Cannon were fired at the Fort on Fort-Hill, the Forts at Dorchester Neck, the Castle, Nantasket, and Point Alderton, likewise discharged their Cannon; Then the Detachment of Artillery fired their Cannon thirteen Times, which was followed by the two Regiments giving their Fire from the thirteen Divisions in Succession. These Firings corresponded to the Number of the American States United. The Ceremony was closed with a proper Collation to the Gentlemen in the Council Chamber; during which the following Toasts were given by the President of the Council, and heartily pledged by the Company viz.

Prosperity and Perpetuity to the United States of America.
The American Congress.

The General Court of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

General WASHINGTON, and Success to the Arms of the
United States.

The downfall of Tyrants and Tyranny.

The universal Prevalence of Civil and Religious Liberty.

The Friends of the United States in all Quarters of the Globe.

The Bells of the Town were rung on the Occasion; and undissembled Festivity cheer'd and brighten'd every Face.

On the same Day a Number of the Members of the Council (who were prevented attending the Ceremony at Boston, on account of the Small Pox being there) together, with those of the Hon. House of Representatives who were in Town, [Watertown] and a Number of other Gentlemen assembled at the Council Chamber in this Town, where the said Declaration was also Proclaimed by the Secretary [Deputy Secretary Avery] from one of the Windows; after which, the Gentlemen present partook of a decent Collation prepared on the Occasion, and drank a Number of constitutional Toasts, and then retired.

We hear that on Thursday last every King's Arms in Boston, and every Sign with any Resemblance of it whether Lion & Crown, Pestle and Mortar & Crown, Heart & Crown, &c. together with every Sign that belonged to a Tory, was taken down, and made a general Conflagration of in King Street.

Some difference of opinion exists as to the actual reading at Boston. "The Boston Gazette" of July 22, printed at Watertown, says that on,

Thursday last [July 18], pursuant to the Orders of the honorable Council, was proclaimed, from the Balcony of the State House in Boston, the DECLARATION OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS . . . at One o'Clock . . . by the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk, [i. e., William Greenleaf] which was received with great Joy, expressed by three Huzzas from a great Concourse of People assembled on the Occasion.

"The Continental Journal" of July 25, printed in Boston, follows the Gazette closely, giving "the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk" as the reader.

"The New England Chronicle" of July 25, printed in Boston, follows the Gazette closely, save that "Colonel Thomas Crafts" is given as the reader.

"The Massachusetts Spy" of July 31, printed in

Worcester, follows the "New England Chronicle," giving "Colonel Thomas Crafts" as the reader.

A British officer (prisoner of war) who was present in the Council Chamber tells in the "United Service Journal" that

Exactly as the clock struck one, Colonel Crafts, who occupied the chair, rose and read aloud the Declaration. This being finished, the gentlemen stood up, and each, repeating the words as they were spoken by an officer, swore to uphold the rights of the country. Meanwhile the town clerk [William Cooper] read from a balcony the Declaration to the crowd.⁴⁴

Mrs. Abigail Adams, in a letter July 21, says to her husband:

Last Thursday, after hearing a very good sermon, I went with the multitude into King Street to hear the Proclamation for Independence read and proclaimed. . . . The troops under arms and all the inhabitants assembled there (the small-pox preventing many thousands from the country) when Colonel Crafts read from the balcony of the State House the proclamation. Great attention was given to every word. As soon as he ended, the cry from the balcony was "God save our American States" and then three cheers which rent the air.⁴⁵

The practise in Massachusetts during the eighteenth century was for the Secretary to read proclamations in the Council Chamber or from the Balcony and for the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk to repeat them from the Balcony or the Street.

The Secretary, Samuel Adams, was in Philadelphia; the Deputy Secretary, John Avery, Jr., (commonly referred to in the records of the Council and House of Representatives as the Secretary,) was reading the Declaration from the window of the Meeting House in Watertown. The Order of the Council on July 17 directed that it should "be proclaim'd by the Sherrif of the County of Suffolk, from the Balcony of the State House in Boston, on Thursday Next at One O Clock P M in Presence of & under Direction of a Com̄itee of Council to be appoint^d for that purpose," . . .

⁴⁴Winsor, *Memorial History*, vol. 3, p. 183.

⁴⁵Hazleton, "The Declaration of Independence," p. 266.

consisting of "James Bowdoin, Artemas Ward, Richard Derby, Thomas Cushing, John Winthrop, Moses Gill, Will^m Phillips, Benj^a Austin & Francis Dana, Esq^{rs}." and at least Bowdoin, Ward, Winthrop, Phillips, and Dana were present.

Family tradition has it that because Sheriff Greenleaf was not of imposing personality and had a weak voice, his place was taken by Colonel Crafts. The most plausible explanation is that either James Bowdoin, President of the Council and Chairman of its Committee or Sheriff Greenleaf read it before the Committee and assembled guests in the Council Chamber, (as the Secretary would have done) and Colonel Crafts read it from the Balcony as the "New England Chronicle," the "Massachusetts Spy" and Mistress Abigail Adams agree. The British officer, only a short time in Boston could easily have mixed his characters as James Bowdoin would have occupied the Chair instead of Colonel Crafts.

"The Massachusetts Spy" of July 24, had a brief account of the Boston proclamation and the following account of the Worcester reading:

On Monday last [July 22] a number of patriotic gentlemen of this town, animated with a love of their country, and to shew their approbation of the measures lately taken by the Grand Council of America, assembled on the green near the liberty pole, where after having displayed the colours of the Thirteen Confederate Colonies of America, the bells were set a ringing and the drums a beating: After which, the Declaration of Independency of the United States was read to a large and respectable body (among whom were the Select-men and Committee of Correspondence) assembled on the occasion, who testified their approbation by repeated huzzas, firing of musquetry and cannon, bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy,—When the arms of that Tyrant in Britain, George the III. of execrable memory, which in former reigns decorated, but of late disgraced the Court-House in this town, were committed to the flames and consumes to ashes; after which a select company of the Sons of Freedom, repaired to the Tavern, lately known by the sign of the King's Arms, which odious signature of despotism was taken down by order of the people, which was cheerfully complied with by the Innkeeper, where

the following toasts were drank—and the Evening spent with joy, on the commencement of the happy æra.

1. Prosperity and perpetuity to the United States of America.

2. The President of the Grand Council of America.

3. The Grand Council of America.

4. His Excellency General Washington.

5. All the Generals in the American Army.

6. Commodore Hopkins.

7. The Officers and Soldiers in the American Army.

8. The Officers and Seamen in the American Navy.

9. The Patriots of America.

10. Every Friend of America.

11. George rejected and Liberty protected.

12. Success to the American Arms.

13. Sore Eyes to all Tories, and a Chestnut Burr for an Eye

Stone.

14. Perpetual itching without the benefit of scratching to the Enemies of America.

15. The Council and Representatives of the State of Massachusetts-Bay.

16. The Officers and Soldiers in the Massachusetts service.

17. The Memory of the brave General Warren.

18. The memory of the magnanimous General Montgomery.

19. Speedy redemption to all the Officers and Soldiers who are now Prisoners of war among our Enemies.

20. The State of Massachusetts-Bay.

21. The town of Boston.

22. The Select-men and Committees of Correspondence for the town of Worcester.

23. May the Enemies of America be laid at her feet.

24. May the Freedom and Independency of America endure till the sun grows dim with age, and this earth returns to Chaos.

The greatest decency and good order, was observed, and at a suitable time each man returned to his respective home.

On August 29, the Massachusetts House of Representatives (having assembled again on the 28th at Watertown) received a message from the Council, reading in part as follows:

The important period has at length arrived! The Honorable Congress have declared the United American Colonies, *Free and Independent States*. This declaration we have ordered to be made public, agreeable to the request of Congress, through every part of *Massachusetts-Bay*; and we shall readily concur with you, in expressing our approbation of the measure, and

readiness to *risque our lives* and *fortunes* in defence and support of it.⁴⁶

On September 4, the House, after various postponements, made answer to the Council:

The House of Representatives have given all due attention to the message from your Honors, of the 28th ultimo, and are desirous of expressing, with a manly fortitude, their entire satisfaction in the *Declaration of Independence*, made by the Honorable Congress, and published, by your Honours order, in this State. They, with great cheerfulness, congratulate your Honours on the very general approbation that measure has met with, through all ranks of people, in this and the other United States of America; and are ready to pledge their fortunes, lives and sacred honour, to support it.⁴⁷

On January 19, 1777, the Continental Congress then sitting at Baltimore

Ordered, That an authenticated copy of the Declaration of Independency, with the names of the members of Congress subscribing the same, be sent to each of the United States, and that they be desired to have the same put upon record.⁴⁸

This Declaration, with the names of the signers, bears the imprint, "Baltimore, in Maryland: Printed by Mary Katherine Goddard." It is of interest to note that this broadside, authenticated in autograph, "Attest Cha^s Thomson Sec^{ry} A True Copy John Hancock Presid^t", was printed by a woman.

On January 31 the following letter, with the authenticated declaration, was sent by John Hancock to the "Hon^{ble} Assembly of the State of Massachusetts Bay":

(Circular)
Gentlemen,

Baltimore Jan^y 31st 1777.

As there is not a more distinguished Event in the History of America, than the Declaration of her Independence—nor any, that, in all Probability will so much excite the Attention of future [Ages]⁴⁹ it is highly proper, that the Memory of that Transaction, together with the Causes that gave Rise to it, should be preserved in the most careful Manner that can be devised.

⁴⁶"Journal," 1776/7, edition of 1777, p. 74.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁴⁸"Journals," vol. 7, p. 48

⁴⁹Burnett, *Letters of Members*, II, p. 228.

I am therefore commanded by Congress to transmit you the enclosed Copy of the Act of Independence, with the List of the several Members of Congress subscribed thereto—and to request, that you will cause the same to be put upon Record, that it may henceforth form a Part of the Archives of your State, and remain a lasting Testimony of your Approbation of that necessary & important Measure.

I have the Honour to be,

Gentlemen,
your most obed. &
very hble Serv^t.
John Hancock Presid^t

I hope the publick
dispatches of 28 & 30th
Dec^r were safely deliver'd
the Express is return'd, but
bro't no Letter—
Honble Assembly of the State
of Massachussetts Bay⁵⁰

On its receipt the following action was taken:

In Council March 6 1777

Read & thereupon Resolved—That the Secretary be and he hereby is directed to put upon Record the Declaration of Independence referred to in the foregoing Letter—that it may henceforth form a Part of the Archives of this State—

Sent down for Concurrence

Jn^o Avery Dp^r Sec^y

In the House of Represent^{ts} March 7 1777

Read and Concurred

Sam^l Freeman Speak^r P^t

Consented to—

Jer: Powell
A Ward
B Greenleaf
W Spooner
J Winthrop
T Cushing
S Holten
Jabez Fisher
Moses Gill
B White
John Whetcomb
W^m Phillips
Benj Austin
E Thayer j^r
D Hopkins

⁵⁰Mass. Archives, vol. 142, pp. 21, 22.

The Declaration was recorded by Deputy Secretary Avery and filed on March 6 in the Secretary's office, where the original may be found today as "part of the Archives of this State."⁵¹

⁵¹In-letters, 1775-1777, pp. 63-71, and Mass. Archives, vol. 142, p. 23. Another printing (Journals of Congress, vol. 2, pp. 241-246) was recorded in Treaties, Contracts, etc., vol. 1, pp. 41-45, at a later date.

THE TREND TOWARD CENTRALIZATION

BY THOMAS WILLING BALCH

THE history of England in the seventeenth century shows that the people of England at that time looked to their Parliament for protection against the exactions of the Stuart Kings, who desired to tax their English subjects heavily to fill the royal chest, and to control and direct the people of the country at large in many ways and things according to their own arbitrary royal will and pleasure.

The whirligig of time brings changes in the affairs of both men and nations. In the eighteenth century Great Britain was engaged with France in many places in a world war. In North America she was assisting the British colonies to repel and overcome the attacks launched by the French and their Indian allies from both Canada in the north and the region south of the great lakes in the west. To carry that purpose more effectively into action, Major General Edward Braddock was appointed in 1754 commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in North America.

Shortly after the General's arrival with his troops in Virginia early in 1755, he took up his headquarters at the Carlyle House in Alexandria, which has ever since been known as "Braddock's Headquarters." To help in preparing for an aggressive war against the French, General Braddock called on the governors of the leading colonies for advice and support. And on the 14th of April, 1755, and the two subsequent days, the General held a Council in the historic Carlyle House.

There were present at that Council besides General Braddock and Commodore Keppel, Governors Morris

of Pennsylvania, De Lancey of New York, Sharp of Maryland, Dinwiddie of Virginia, and Shirley of Massachusetts, the latter being the most important personality among the quintet of governors. They were attended by Colonel William Johnson and other notable colonials.

The Council agreed on a general plan of campaign, in which General Braddock was to command the attack against Fort Du Quesne.¹ But perhaps the most momentous result of its deliberation was the announcement of the five governors that no funds to carry on the war against the French could be expected from the colonies themselves, and the further recommendation that the British Parliament should be called on to tax the colonies to help defray the cost assumed by the homeland in waging war for the defense of the colonies. Accordingly, a few days later, on the 19th of April, General Braddock wrote from the Carlyle House to Sir Thomas Robinson, one of the Secretaries of State to King George the Third, and urged the view of the Council that the colonies should be taxed by the Parliament to help pay the expenses of carrying on the war.²

This suggestion from British officials in Council, was one of the first, perhaps the first, proposal that the colonies should be taxed by the British Parliament. After the annexation of Canada to the British Crown, the policy of the British Parliament of taxing the colonies was started. To this action of the Parliament of the homeland, in which there were no representatives from America, the colonies objected and eventually the American Revolution resulted. After the rule of the British King, his British Ministers and the British Parliament had been thrown off by our fathers

¹*The Documentary History of the State of New York*, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, Albany, 1850, Volume II., pages 378-379.

²Winthrop Sargent: *History of an expedition against Fort DuQuesne in 1755 under Major-General Edward Braddock*, Philadelphia, 1856, page 153. Richard Henry Spencer: *The Carlyle Family and the Carlyle House and its Associations*, Richmond, 1910, page 46.

under the leadership of George Washington, the Americans, with a keen sense of the injustice that both King and Parliament had attempted to impose upon the colonies, took to heart the advice of Montesquieu in framing the Federal Government. Having ranged the history of law the world over, that profound scholar, drawing some of his inspiration doubtless like all great thinkers from those who had gone before, pointed out in a famous passage (1748), the importance of separating the fundamental functions of government from one another and placing them on an equality. Montesquieu says: "There is no liberty if the power to judge is not separated from the legislative and the executive powers. If it were joined to the legislative power, the authority over the life and liberty of citizens would be an arbitrary one, for the judge would be legislator. If it were joined to the executive power, the judge might have the power of an oppressor."

The members of the Federal Convention, to whom *The Spirit of the Laws* was known, drew the Constitution of our country, so that the powers of the Federal Government should be divided into the three separate and co-equal divisions, the executive, the legislative and the judicial.

Especially, in giving the judicial division the right to pass upon the constitutionality of the acts of the legislative branch of the government, they established something new in government. Another French commentator, de Tocqueville, in his magisterial book, *Democracy in America*, points out with clearness what a bulwark against tyranny this power of the courts is.³ He says:

There have been confederations elsewhere than in America. Republics have been seen on other shores than on those of the new world; representative government has been adopted in several of the States of Europe; but I do not think, that up to

³Alexis de Tocqueville: *De la démocratie en Amérique*, Paris, 1850, Volume I., pages 118 and 124. De Tocqueville (1805-1859) visited America in the early thirties. The first part of this book was published in 1835. The venerable statesman Royer-Collard said of it: "Since Montesquieu there has been nothing so good."

now, any nation of the world has established the judicial power in the same way as the Americans. * * *

Restrained within its limits, the power conferred upon the American tribunals to pass upon the constitutionality of legislative enactments, forms one of the most powerful bulwarks that have ever been raised against the tyranny of political assemblies.

This innovation in government, was the product in large part of a gradual growth in the conditions obtaining in the colonies in reference to the power of review by the King in Council upon many of the disagreements that arose between colony and colony. It has become one of the two palladiums of the liberty of the American people. The other is the maintenance of the sovereignty of our individual States, all of which together form our Federal Union.

While in the past the English people relied on their Parliament with its power over the purse, to protect them against unjust enactments and tyranny on the part of the King, to-day in the year nineteen hundred and twenty-five, the situation has so far changed in this country that the American people are feeling the evil effects of the reckless legislation of Congress. As a result, oppressed by the needless taxation imposed by the Federal Legislature, and curbed in their individual actions and liberties by the restraints imposed by that heedless body, the American people are looking to the President of to-day to safeguard the nation against Congress in its blind ignorance to foolishly destroy the local self-government of the forty-eight sovereign States that together form our Federal Union. For like many individuals who are always eager to spend other people's money if they have the chance, Congress hardly pauses in its reckless creation of bureaus at Washington for spending the people's money and centralizing power at the national capital.

Samuel Vauclain of Philadelphia, Henry St. George Tucker, member of Congress from Virginia—and other leading citizens have pointed out in the past year (1924) that Congress could confer a boon on the coun-

try by staying at home for several years. The constructive criticism of these far seeing men is worthy of serious consideration. Perhaps the country would be the gainer if the meetings of Congress were restricted to biennial sessions. It certainly would be if the membership of the lower house were reduced. But to maintain the balance of power between the legislative and the executive branches of the government, the power of the Senate to confirm treaties, appointments, etc., should not in any way be curtailed.

In connection with the centralization of power now in process of development at Washington as a result of the Congressional legislative mill, it will be of interest and use to look at some points in the political career of one of our past Presidents, who, like the President of to-day (for both of whom I had the pleasure of voting), did all he could to guard the Constitution and also to defend the interests of all the people against the lavish spending by Congress of the public revenue. This former chief magistrate of the Nation was born at Caldwell in northern New Jersey, the 18th of March, 1837, and was christened Grover Cleveland.⁴ The son of God-revering parents, he was brought up in an atmosphere that taught that there is a right and a wrong. And his parents wrought into his character the sense of personal responsibility. When he had grown to manhood and he was called upon several times to assume public office—for he never sought an office, the office in each case sought him—the sense of the personal responsibility was supreme. In every public position that he held, whether as assistant district attorney, sheriff, mayor, governor or president, Grover Cleveland ever tried to do what seemed to his human judgment to be right regardless of the political consequences to himself.

⁴*The Congressional Record*, during the two Cleveland presidential terms. George F. Parker: *The Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland*, New York, 1892; *Recollections of Grover Cleveland*, New York, 1909. Robert McElroy: *Grover Cleveland, the man and the statesman*, New York, 1923.

In a short address, it is not possible to give a detailed account of the career of such a busy public man. I shall touch upon only one or two salient features of his public services to the country and the people which seem to be of especial interest in the light of human events at this time.

The high moral purposes and far seeing aims of President Cleveland were shown in countless ways. In internal affairs he maintained successfully the independence of the executive against the attempted encroachments of the Senate. He halted the practice of giving pensions on bogus pretences. He upheld during the riotous Pullman strike the sovereignty of the nation. He saved the standard of the national currency from debasement. In foreign affairs, he resisted and held Bismarck at bay in Samoa. He induced Great Britain to submit her ancient boundary dispute with Venezuela to an International Court of Arbitration for judicial settlement, thereby promoting for the future the continuance and increase of friendly relations between America and Great Britain.

As Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Cardinal Richelieu of France and Oliver Cromwell of England were thinking always in their management of foreign affairs first of all of the interests of their own country, as are the political men of Europe to-day, so, too, Grover Cleveland invariably at all times placed the well-being of America before those of the rest of the world. Never for an instant did he forget that his duty primarily was to his own fatherland.

Cleveland's appeal was not made in grandiloquent words and sonorous phrases to the imagination of the people, but in a rather ponderous style to their intelligence and power of reasoning. He did not rely either in his state papers or public speeches on bluff covered with a smoke of words. And, except for the Venezuela message, there was nothing dramatic in the two Cleveland presidencies to carry the people suddenly off their balance.

During his political career, Cleveland was always thinking in whatever office he held of the best interests, according to his lights, of the constituency that he represented at the time. He never was thinking of the political future of Grover Cleveland. Repeatedly he risked his political life by the position that he took either in his state papers or public speeches. He never played politics.

The political course and character of the man is summed up in the saying of the pilot of Seneca, which James Russell Lowell, at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Harvard University, quoted as he looked straight at the President of the United States:

Oh! Neptune, you may sink me, you may save me,
But I will hold my rudder true.

On the 4th of March, 1893, Grover Cleveland was inaugurated as President for a second term. He was the first and to the present day only defeated President ever re-elected to that high office. It was the will of the people themselves who had forced his third nomination and then elected him for the second time. As he took over the helm of the ship of state for his second term, the country was faced with the perils of a debased currency through the silent workings of the great unwritten law of money—that when two currencies of unequal value are in circulation at the same time in a country, the poorer drives out the better.

First hand knowledge of the immutable workings of that monetary law was obtained in the past both by sovereigns and peoples on many occasions in numerous lands. However, the experience thus dearly bought whenever that currency law has been disregarded for any appreciable length of time, apparently has to be re-learned by subsequent generations. For while the instructed few know of it and appreciate its irresistible power when set in motion, the masses of a new generation know nothing of it and have to be enlightened in case of necessity. Thus it came about, in spite of the abundant illumination in American history previous

to the Civil War of the power of that unwritten law of money, that the political men and the people of America insisted not only upon an inflation of the currency to carry on the Civil War, but after peace had come, they continued for a long time fooling with it. And had not a man of the highest political courage been placed in the presidential chair at the opportune moment, the people and their political leaders would have learnt that they had tackled an economic and political buzz-saw. Happily for the country, however, in Grover Cleveland there sat in the presidential chair a man who did not fear to face the storm wind of popular ignorance and passion that others foolishly had sown.

During the Civil War, the Federal Government, in its task to carry on the struggle against the Southern Confederacy, was caught in the toils of an inflated paper currency, and all its attendant evils to the country and the people. In 1873, only eight years after the close of the war, the American Government, however, was able to resume specie payments on a gold basis, with silver as a subsidiary currency. At once that legislation was attacked by a large political section of the people. With congressman Richard P. Bland of Missouri as leader, the resumption of specie payments in gold, with silver relegated to the position of a subsidiary metal, was denounced as the crime of 1873; and an agitation was begun that something must be done for silver.

As a result of this clamor, "Do something for silver" the Bland-Allison bill was passed in 1878 by both Republican and Democratic Senators and Representatives over the veto of a Republican President, Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. It provided for the coinage each month of from \$2,000,000 to \$4,000,000 of silver at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury. At that time a silver dollar had about the same value as a gold dollar. They were minted at the legal ratio of sixteen ounces of silver being considered the equivalent of one

ounce of gold. But, owing to the much greater output of silver than of gold throughout the world, the value of a silver dollar measured by the value of silver in the markets of the world, slowly fell below that of the gold dollar and continued to fall. In the course of years the value of the silver dollar fell so far below that of the gold dollar that it was perfectly clear to all students of the unwritten laws that govern money as a mechanism of exchange, that if the coinage of silver dollars at the legal ratio of sixteen to one were not stopped, it was only a question of time when the great law of money, called by the British economist MacLeod, "the law of Oresme, Copernicus and Gresham," would be set in motion, and gold as the more valuable money would begin to leave the country.

Upon becoming President for the first time in 1885, Grover Cleveland realized that the continuance of coining silver dollars as provided by the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, would eventually set the law of Oresme, Copernicus and Gresham in operation, and so in the course of time transfer the country from a gold or higher standard of currency to silver or a lower measure of values. In his first annual message to Congress in 1885, President Cleveland for that very reason urged strongly the repeal of the Bland-Allison Act. The President said:

Every month two millions of gold . . . are paid out for two millions of silver dollars to be added to the idle mass already accumulated.

If continued long enough, this operation will result in the substitution of silver for all the gold the government owns applicable to its general purposes.

* * *

When the time comes that gold has been withdrawn from circulation, then will be apparent the difference between the real value of the silver dollar and a dollar in gold, and the two coins will part company. Gold, still the standard of value and necessary in our dealings with other countries, will be at a premium over silver; banks which have substituted gold for the deposits of their customers may pay them with silver . . . thus making a handsome profit; rich speculators will sell their

hoarded gold to their neighbors who need it to liquidate their foreign debts, at a ruinous premium over silver, and the laboring men and women of the land, most defenceless of all, will find that the dollar received for the wages of their toil, has sadly shrunk in its purchasing power.

Congress, however, did not heed President Cleveland's sage advice. His administration ended in March, 1889, leaving an overflowing treasury.

After the Republicans came into full control in 1889 of Congress as well as the executive, a majority in the two branches of Congress made up of both Republicans and Democrats passed the Sherman Silver Law. Under the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, every Secretary of the Treasury had coined only \$2,000,000 of silver a month, the minimum imposed by the law. The Sherman Silver bill provided, however, that upon its passage the Government should buy four and a half million ounces of silver, each month, paying for this metal with silver certificates issued against the silver bullion that was bought. As a result the amount of depreciated silver money or its representative paper was increased at a faster rate than before, and so hastened more rapidly than ever the time when the silent work of the great unwritten law of money would become apparent. The Sherman Silver Act was passed by Congress in 1890, many of the leading Senators, both Republicans and Democrats, voting for it, and it was signed by President Harrison. In the elections of 1892 the Republican Administration was defeated, but it did not leave office until the law of Oresme, Coperincus and Gresham, as Grover Cleveland had pointed out and predicted in 1885, had visibly set to work, and gold was steadily leaving the country. The Harrison administration prepared just before it left office to sell bonds, in order to replenish the gold reserve of the government which was running low. Incidentally, too, it left the Treasury in a sadly depleted condition. President Cleveland when he retired from office the 4th of March, 1889, handed over

to his successor, President Harrison, \$281,000,000 of which \$196,689,614 was in gold. When President Harrison, four years later, handed back to his predecessor, Grover Cleveland, the helm of the ship of State, there were only \$112,450,577 in the Treasury and of that sum only \$103,500,000 was in gold.

The 4th of March, 1893, when Grover Cleveland for the second time took up the reins of the Executive portion of the government, the country was face to face with the danger of having its currency lowered from a gold to a silver basis. This was because of the continued increase of depreciated silver dollars as provided, first by the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, and then the Sherman Silver law of 1890. The President could not by his own act alter or repeal the Sherman Law, and he could not change the legal ratio existing between silver and gold dollars of sixteen to one as fixed by Congressional legislation, and cause it to conform with the commercial ratio of nearly thirty to one then existing between the two metals as fixed in the commercial markets of the world. The President had to allow Secretary Carlisle of the Treasury to continue to buy four and a half million ounces of silver a month, as provided by the Sherman Silver law. This unhappy currency situation in which the country was involved in 1893, was due to the stupidity of all the political parties in the past—the Republicans, the Democrats, the Greenbackers and the Populists. Had Congress given heed to President Cleveland's advice concerning the monetary situation of the United States in his first annual message in 1885, and passed suitable remedial currency legislation, the country would have been spared the terrible financial crisis of 1893. But Congress, oblivious of the public good, refused during the first Cleveland administration to do anything to safeguard the maintenance of the standard of value of the country.

The 8th of August, 1893, when the commercial and financial situation of the country had become desperate,

Congress assembled at the call of the President in extra session. It was convened expressly to repeal the Sherman Silver law in order to stop the purchases of Silver. The presidential message, which was not written in fine emotional phrases put the case for repeal strongly in a practical way. A majority of the House, both Republicans and Democrats, soon rallied to the President's support and passed such a measure. But for weeks, while the commercial distress among the people of the country was growing with every passing day more acute, the Senate wasted precious time with all manner of obstruction and delay. Only at the eleventh hour would the upper house yield to the heroic trustee of all the people, the President, and agreed to repeal the Sherman Silver law. The vote in the Senate was 43 to 32. The repeal bill became a law the first of November. And that day marked the end of an insane policy begun in 1878 and persisted in for fifteen years by Congress, to wit, of tampering with and as an ultimate result lowering the American monetary standard of values. All through that ordeal John Sherman, a Republican Senator, did his duty manfully and stood shoulder to shoulder with Grover Cleveland.

Just as a physician, however, cannot at once stop the ravages of a disease which he is called upon to cure, if it has gained great headway, so the stoppage of silver purchases could not at once halt the operation of the law of Oresme, Copernicus and Gresham. Because of the great mass of silver with which the currency of the country had been saturated, and the lack of confidence of the world in the ability of the American Government to maintain gold specie payments, gold continued to flow from the country. This was accomplished by the presentation to the Treasury of the greenbacks and outstanding United States notes, amounting to about \$450,000,000 for redemption in gold. But under the statute law all that paper currency had to be re-issued and so they became again available to draw more gold from the Treasury. Thus, in the apt phraseology of

Secretary Carlisle, as an "endless chain," the paper currency was cutting the gold reserve of the government continually downward.

In the trying situation confronting and threatening the solvency of the United States, Grover Cleveland sought Congressional aid to better the situation. But the President appealed to the legislative branch of the government in vain. That body preferred to listen to the eloquent but merely emotional oratorical appeals of the silver leaders than to heed the sound and sensible presentation of the needs of the country as expressed in the matter-of-fact messages of the President. The latter asked for aid to sell bonds on the most advantageous terms possible to the government so as to replenish the gradually vanishing gold reserve. When Congress refused to help, the President was not satisfied in merely pointing what Congress could and should do in the premises to uphold the financial honor and credit of the national currency. While that body wasted precious time in negotiations, the President, availing himself of such powers as the existing laws gave him single handed protected the nation's credit and commercial honor by the issue of bonds to replenish the gold reserve of the government. Four times the President found it necessary to sell bonds to meet the outflow of gold.

The mental attitude of Congress was shown by the refusal of the House to agree that the third loan should be payable in gold instead of in coin as provided by the existing statutes. Could that loan of bonds to run thirty years have been made payable in gold, the bonds could have been issued at three per cent instead of four per cent, as was necessary to float the bonds payable merely in coin. That error in judgment on the part of Congress, cost the American people something over \$16,000,000.

With the fourth issue of bonds, which was for \$100,000,000 and brought into the Treasury \$111,000,000 in gold, the work of liquidating the workings of the

great unwritten law of money—that Congress in its blind folly had insisted years back on starting up—was successfully accomplished. All told \$262,000,000 of bonds had been sold by executive action under the sanction of existing laws of the country. As a result \$293,000,000 of gold was added to the gold reserve in the Treasury. While Congress in its ignorance of the workings of money as the mechanism of exchange, had refused to do anything to help the country, the President had acted and, in spite of the foolishness of Congress, saved the people of the United States from a debasement of their currency.

Leaders of great popular movements have been called great men because they used their intellectual powers to steer those human tides to success, often to benefit their own selfish ends as did Napoleon for instance. But Grover Cleveland did something more rare than that. Single handed, he held back practically a whole people, from madly rushing to financial disaster. The more carefully our financial legislation is studied, the more clearly does it appear that the fact that the United States to-day are on a gold basis of exchange is due primarily to one man. For had it not been for President Cleveland's foresight and determination, the country would have been cursed with a debased currency, and its attending evils as a result of the vicious and fallacious currency legislation of the past for which all political parties were responsible. When the appeal was made in 1896, whether the mints of the United States should be opened to the free coinage of silver at the legal ratio of sixteen of silver to one of gold while the commercial ratio between the two metals was about double that amount in the commercial markets of the world, the American people rallied to the policy of President Cleveland by defeating the candidacy of Congressman Bryan, the leader of the free silver men. After four months of discussion and arguing *pro* and *con* in the press and upon the stump, the American people decided that

Congress may talk and talk, and talk the livelong day,
But you can't make a dollar out of fifty cents, for a dollar isn't
built that way.

Another phase of government where President Cleveland fearlessly led the way, was his defense of the right of the people to be as free as possible of the strangulation of governmental control and bureaucratic regulation. In every way he championed the cause of individualism upon which the country had grown, for more than a century, great and prosperous. Against the insidious growth of paternalism in whatever form of sugar coating it was advanced, he upheld the ancient American doctrine that, while the people should support the government, the government should not support the people.

Since the close of his second administration there has occurred a marked advance towards paternalism both in this country and in Europe. Since then, America has moved nearer and ever nearer toward a centralized bureaucratic system at Washington like that which prevailed at St. Petersburg in the times of the Tzars and against which the Russian people rose in revolt. The slow but steady absorption by the Federal Government in all manners of ways of the powers reserved to the individual States, thereby destroying local self government or home rule, is hastening that centralization at the national capital. And yet that dual form of our sovereignty—an idea which seems to have originated first, as Mr. Justice William I. Schaffer has pointed out, with the compact of Utrecht in 1585—together with the power conferred by the Constitution upon the Federal Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation, is one of the most important and vital safeguards of democracy or individual liberty. The proponents of paternalism who wish to change our democratic form of government to a bureaucratic one, are eager to attack and destroy those two palladiums of the freedom and liberty of the people.

Flinders Petrie has rediscovered and pointed out recently a truth of history or law of nature. When the record of the human race is looked at as one continuous whole since the first glimmers of historic times until now, it becomes apparent that after each great summer of civilization there is a long winter of chaos and darkness and ignorance. This great winter is in its turn succeeded by another period of summer. This law of nature was known to the Etruscans and others of the ancients. It is just beginning to be recognized and known in our own epoch.

Toward the close of each period of civilization, the masses of the population acquire the power to take gradually the accumulated wealth from the possessions of the few who have had the foresight to create and conserve it. And as fast as the masses acquire that wealth, they consume it, until finally the capital is so far reduced that the population as a whole is undernourished. When the people have been sufficiently weakened in the course of several generations by undernourishment, each civilization in the past has fallen before the attack of and been conquered by the barbarians. "The consumption," Petrie says, "of all the resources of the Roman empire, from the second century when democracy was dominant, until the Gothic kingdom was built on the ruin of the Roman state," is an excellent example of this. After a civilization has been conquered and destroyed, in the great winter of darkness that follows, the two races, conquerors and conquered, gradually in the course of several centuries, mix and blend thoroughly. With the barbarian race representing the role of the male, and the civilized race that of the female, a new birth takes place and a new civilization starts on its span of life.

It is by studying the events of the past of the human race that it is possible to see in a measure into the future, and so far as possible avoid the pitfalls that have been destructive in the past.

The peace of Westphalia which ended the Thirty

Years' War in 1648, made plain to the European world of that time the gradual transformation that had taken place in European policy from feudalism to nationalism. How this process was going on in the fifteenth century is well brought out by Bernard Shaw in his *Saint Joan* in the following conversation between John de Stogumber, a cleric, and the Earl of Warwick, a nobleman.

The chaplain: He is only a Frenchman, my lord.

The nobleman: A Frenchman! Where did you pick up that expression? Are these Burgundians and Bretons and Picards and Gascons beginning to call themselves Frenchmen, just as our fellows are beginning to call themselves Englishmen? They actually talk of France and England as their countries. Theirs, if you please! What is to become of me and you if that way of thinking comes into fashion?

The chaplain: Why, my lord? Can it hurt us?

The nobleman: Men cannot serve two masters. If this cant of serving their country once takes hold of them, goodbye to the authority of their feudal lords, and goodbye to the authority of the church. That is, goodbye to you and me.

That change from feudalism to nationalism was of slow progress for a long time before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. It was a natural growth. The re-arrangement of the political map of Europe by the negotiators assembled at Münster and Osnabrück made it patent to all men of education.

So, too, the close of the Great War of 1914-1918 showed clearly that a fundamental change had gradually occurred in the occidental world of the concept upon which government rests. May it not be, indeed, do not the signs of history point out that the change to which the peoples of Europe are marching is still further away from individual freedom or democracy and towards socialism with its destruction through State control of individual liberty and initiative.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a great change has occurred in this America of ours in substituting in large measure governmental control for

the former individual freedom that used to be the glory and boast of every American. Indeed, the change in the United States from the freedom that formerly was the envy of Europeans, to governmental control and regulation since the time when Grover Cleveland left the presidency at the end of his second term in 1897, has been immense. And President Cleveland, who fought bravely at all times to protect and perpetuate the freedom of the people instead of merely following their lead in helping to forge anew in this country the chains against which the people have risen on many occasions in the past in other lands, seems almost like a paladin of old rather than a President of only a generation back, so much have the people turned their backs on the old freedom of the individual for which Cleveland stood and fought as they bow their necks more and more under the yoke of bureaucratic control.

Any one who has studied the history of America will note how the two great parties of the country have changed places gradually in large measure as regards individualism and States' Rights. It was the Democracy that before the Civil War was the defender of States' Rights, while the Whig Party in those days, as the Republican Party during the war and for many years afterwards, pressed to increase the powers of the National Government at the expense of the sovereignty of the States. Today the position of the two leading parties are largely reversed in that respect. The line of cleavage on these issues now cuts across both parties. Thomas Jefferson and Grover Cleveland both led in the fight for individual freedom and in opposition to the centralization of all power at Washington. But now the mantle worn by those two great chiefs is upon the shoulders of President Coolidge who to-day leads the battle on behalf of the American people against the efforts of Congress to centralize power in Washington upon the basis of the European model of bureaucratic control.

We know that for each of us there is an end to the

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span of life beyond which we cannot hope to live. Nevertheless, if we take care of our bodies, we can expect, barring accidents, to live the length of time allotted to our individual family or race. So, too, history shows, it is with the life of nations. If a nation is governed wisely and intelligently, it will last longer than if it is ruled foolishly.

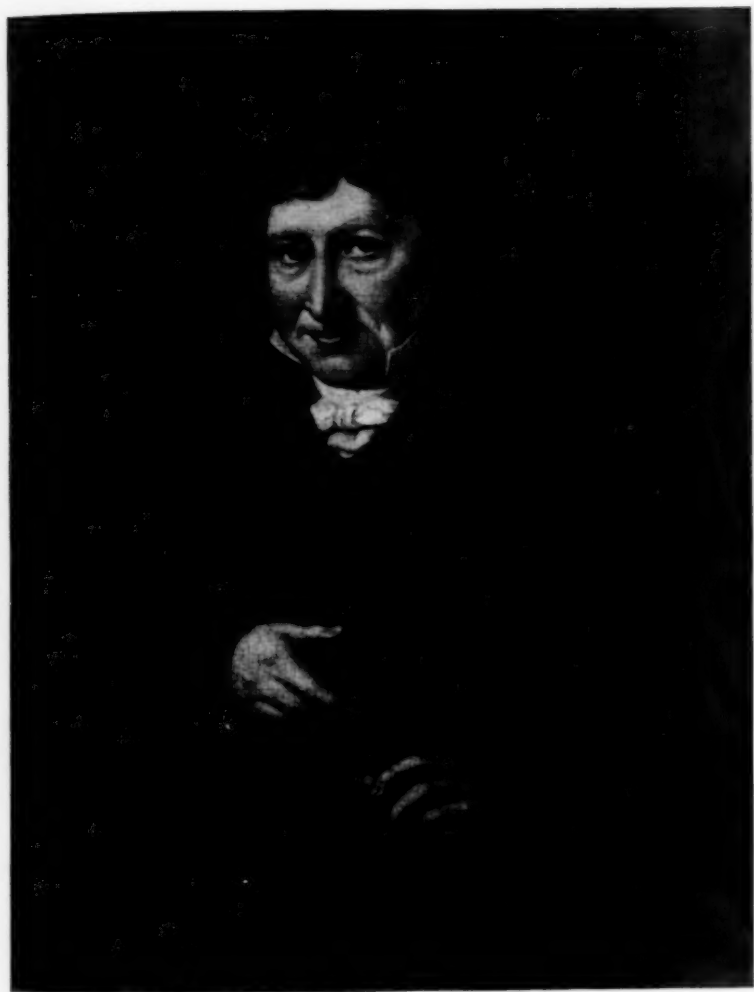
The whole trend of our history should cause the American people to pause and consider well, before changing from the old American freedom of individualism, a form of polity upon which our country has grown great and prospered, to the European idea of bureaucratic control, an inheritance that has come down from feudal times.

For it is by the importation and grafting of European feudal ideas upon our body politic that American freedom is surely disappearing. The creeping political paralysis, known to our civilization as state socialism, is gradually destroying the freedom of the American people. And the only way the people can defend themselves against this insidious disease of the political world, is to educate themselves in the history of mankind.

LETTERS OF CHRISTOPH DANIEL EBELING
TO REV. DR. WILLIAM BENTLEY OF SALEM, MASS.
AND TO OTHER AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS

EDITED BY WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE
LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

CHRISTOPH DANIEL EBELING, Professor of Greek and of History in the Gymnasium of Hamburg, and in his later years Librarian of the City Library, is still a figure of some consequence in the eyes of American scholars, although more than one hundred years have passed since his death. He had the keenest interest in all that pertained to America, his zeal in collecting American publications and books on America and in maintaining connections with American correspondents was unflagging, and the painstaking industry and conscientious pursuit of accuracy with which he devoted himself for over twenty years to his Geography and History of America are beyond all praise. In the Harvard Library his name is almost daily on our lips, for the great collection of Americana (books and newspapers and maps), a collection which was the dearest object of his life for many years, was bought after his death by Israel Thorndike, a Boston merchant, and was given by him to the Harvard Library. With the possible exception of the bequests of Rev. John Lightfoot, learned Orientalist, and of Theophilus Gale, theologian and philologist, and of the eight great chests of books sent to us by Sir John Maynard of Lincoln's Inn in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, all of which were swept away by the fire of 1764, Thorndike's gift was the most considerable



PORTRAIT OF CHRISTOPH D. EBELING, BY P. SUHR



and the most important which the Library had ever received, for it placed the Harvard Library easily at the head of American libraries of that time as to Americana. Ebeling's collection of American newspapers of the later years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, which he had bound in some three hundred folio volumes, is still probably the most precious collection of American papers of that date in existence. Details in regard to his life, his correspondence and his collection still claim our interest.

Of Ebeling himself I can set down what the biographical dictionaries tell us (the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* and Schröder's *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller*, 1854); but his own letters furnish additional facts regarding his daily life and his writings and give occasional vivid glimpses of the man and his wide acquaintance with German literature and theology.

Ebeling was born at Garmissen near Hildesheim, Nov. 20, 1741. In 1763 he entered the University of Göttingen intending to devote himself to theology and the ministry, but found himself more drawn to the study of history and literature and of the English language, of which, as well as of the ancient languages, he became very fond. An increasing deafness which unfitted him for pastoral work confirmed him in these pursuits. In 1767 he was employed as a tutor in Leipzig, but in 1769 he took a position as teacher in a commercial academy (*handlungsakademie*) in Hamburg. The next year, in co-operation with J. G. Büsch, he became director of this academy, and continued in this office until 1794 or later.

In 1784 he was appointed professor of history and of the Greek language in the Gymnasium of Hamburg. Some idea of the character of his instruction and of the spirit in which it was conducted may be got from the "Index . . . actorum et . . . agendorum," of the Hamburg Gymnasium for 1789, a copy of which

he sent to his friend Rev. William Bentley in Salem. In this publication each professor states (in Latin) within the compass of a page or page and a half the substance of the courses he has been giving and proposes to give.

Ebeling's principal public course at this time was designed to give a useful knowledge of free states, especially the Italian states, to study by what laws they were controlled, preserved and increased, by what institutions their liberty was strengthened and asserted, by what counsels or vices they fell. It was made plain that no warlike state, no seditious state, could be blessed, and that those only could be called happy which were well controlled, were distinguished by reverence for law and were devoted without reserve to the pursuit of peace. In the coming year he was to turn to current affairs and treat of the new states then springing up almost daily under new forms.

In his private instruction he had expounded the present condition of kingdoms and republics and had brought down the history of literature and science to modern times. He would continue in the same rich field the coming year and would also treat the history of the German Empire. His public lectures were given from nine to ten o'clock, each morning.

Among the other professors whose work is described we find Johannes Georgius Buesch, Johannes Henricus Vincentius Noelting, and Johannes Albertus Henricus Reimarius—names which we shall find referred to from time to time in his letters. The pamphlet is inscribed "Summe Reverendo Bentleio C. D. E."

In 1800 he added the post of librarian of the city library to his other duties. For the last ten years of his life he was completely deaf. He died June 20, 1817. Benevolent and rejoicing in his rich stores of knowledge he was at the same time a strict man of business and was beloved by all.

The list of his published works given in Schröder covers thirty-eight items. Those which are most

closely related to his American studies are the following:

Amerikanische Bibliothek. Herausgegeben von C. D. Ebeling, Aufseher der Handlungsakademie in Hamburg. 1^{er}-4^{er} Stück. Leipzig. 1777-78. pp. 428 [628] (1).

This comprises translations of various political, descriptive, and statistical pamphlets relating to America, and includes, also, Washington's Diary of 1753, the charters of the several colonies, and notices of books, maps, etc.

The Harvard Library has Ebeling's copy, with his annotations.

Handlungsbibliothek, herausgegeben von J. G. Büsch und C. D. Ebeling, Professoren am Gymnasium und Vorstehern der Handlungsakademie. 1^{er}-3^{er} Band (each in four parts). Hamburg. 1785-1797.

Contains articles, the greater part by the editors, on commercial, financial, and economic subjects.

Christoph Daniel Ebelings Professors der Geschichte und griechischen Sprache am Hamburgischen Gymnasium Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika. Die vereinten Staaten von Nordamerika. 1^{er}-7^{er} Band. Hamburg. 1793-1816.

I. New Hampshire, Massachusetts. 1793. (2d ed., increased from 1135 to 1519 pages, 1800.)

II. Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York. 1794.

III. New York, New Jersey. 1796.

IV. Pennsylvania. 1797.

V. Delaware, Maryland. 1799.

VI. Pennsylvania (enlarged). 1803.

VII. Virginia. 1816.

The last volume is dedicated to William Bentley, Samuel Miller, Samuel Latham Mitchill, Henry St. George Tucker.

The Harvard Library has two of Ebeling's copies and an additional copy of the first volume (2^e Auflage) bound in two parts. The first copy of the whole work, in seven volumes, has a few marginal notes and interlineations here and there in the hand of the author. In the first volume is inserted a letter from Sieveking, to whom with Voght the volume was dedicated.

The second copy was evidently designed for annotations and additions, but in fact has but few notes, except in the second volume which is copiously annotated. All the volumes in this copy are printed on large sheets folded in such a way that half the pages have very wide margins. The second, third, fourth

and fifth volumes are, in addition, interleaved. Vol. I (second edition) is in two volumes; II is in three; III, IV, V, and VII are in two volumes each.

A third copy, received in the Warden Library in 1823, has additional title-pages throughout bearing the title "Büsching's Erdbeschreibung, Dreizehnter Theil." Vols. II-VI have a *third* title-page, "Büsching's Erdbeschreibung, Siebenter Theil," which changes in Vol. VII to "Achter Theil." It is difficult to trace any reason for this complexity, but it may be recognized as characteristic of German publications particularly of this period.

Amerikanisches Magazin, oder authentische Beiträge zur Erdbeschreibung, Staatskunde und Geschichte von Amerika, besonders aber der vereinten Staaten.

Herausgegeben von Professor Hegewisch in Kiel und Professor Ebeling in Hamburg. 1^{er} Band. Hamburg. 1797.

1^{es} Stück, 1795. pp. 189

2^{es} Stück, 1796. pp. 166

3^{es} Stück, 1796. pp. 200

4^{es} Stück, 1797, pp. 184

The articles ascribed directly to Ebeling include translations from Tench Coxe's Survey of the United States, from the Proceedings of Congress, and notes on the life of Baron Steuben; but his hand is doubtless also to be seen in the tables of exports from the United States, the list of schools and colleges in the United States, the reviews of books, notices of deaths, and notes on current affairs.

Ebeling's copy, with MS corrections and notes is in the Harvard Library.

Magazin für die Kunde und neueste Geschichte der ausser-europäischen Länder und Völker. Herausgegeben von C. D. Ebeling Professor der Geschichte am Gymnasium und Bibliothekar der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg, und F. Herrmann Professor in Lübeck. 1^{es}-2^{es} Heft. Hamburg. 1817.

A third number was issued in 1818, but Ebeling's name on the title-page is replaced by that of K. F. A. Hartmann, Professor in Hamburg. Each number is in two parts, one devoted to America, the other to Oriental lands. The Harvard copy is from Bentley's library through the American Antiquarian Society.

Ebeling's other publications include a number of volumes for school use, "Vermischte Aufsätze," or prose selections in English, Italian, French, Spanish,

and Dutch, each issued in several successive editions; also translations into German of many more or less important works, such as Sneedorf's "Patriotischer Zuschauer," from the Danish (1769-1772, 4 vols.), Chastellux, "Essai sur l'union de la poésie et de la musique," Charles Burney's "Present state of music in France and Italy, or the Journal of a tour through those countries" (1771), Andrew Burnaby's "Travels through the middle settlements in North America" (1775), Dr. William Hunter's "Concise account of the kingdom of Pegu" (1787), and Elisha Trapaud's "Short account of the Prince of Wales's Island in the East Indies" (1790), the last two being volumes of a "Neue Sammlung von Reisebeschreibungen," in ten parts, edited by him from 1780 to 1790. In 1777 he published Karl Christoph Pluer's "Reisen durch Spanien, aus dessen Handschriften herausgegeben,"¹ and he edited by himself or in conjunction with others sundry other works—a revised and enlarged edition of G. C. Bohn's "Wohlerfahrner Kaufmann," 1789, G. F. A. Wendeborn's "Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Menschen," 1807, and his "Erinnerungen aus seinem Leben," 1813. He prepared many articles for Ersch und Grüber's Encyclopädie, and contributed frequent reviews to the *Neuer Hamburgische Zeitung*, the *Allgemeine Litteratur-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*; essays and poems to the journal, *Unterhaltungen*, published in Hamburg from 1767 to 1770, and his "Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek" in the 10th volume of the same periodical. His special interest in geography led him to publish reports and descriptions of new maps either separately or in periodicals. One of his letters speaks of his preparing in collaboration with Klopstock a German translation of the text of Handel's Messiah.

Of Ebeling's letters to his American correspondents

¹The Harvard Library possesses a collection of papers, mostly in Spanish relating to the history of Paraguay in the 18th century, described as "Pluer's Samlungen über Paragay," which probably came to it with Ebeling's library.

enough remain to give some idea of his life and surroundings, of the troubled years following the French Revolution, and of the pains he took to get reliable material upon which to base his *History of America*. His correspondence was frequently interrupted by the lack of communication with America incident to the closing of the Elbe, to the activities of English privateers and the occupation of Hamburg by the French. There is consequently more or less repetition in his letters, as is natural when the writer does not learn for many months whether previous letters have reached their destination.

The following are the letters of Ebeling which I have examined or of which I have knowledge.

1. A letter, dated June 26, 1794, to President Stiles of Yale College. The original is in Harvard College Library. (MS. Amer. 823).
2. Letters to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, 1794-1798. In the Belknap Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Some are printed in the Collections, Sixth series, Vol. IV, 1891.
3. Letters to Rev. William Bentley of Salem, 1795-1817. These were given to the Harvard Library by Dr. Bentley's nephew, William B. Fowle of Boston, in 1844. Mr. Fowle believed them to include all that related to the book intercourse of his uncle with Professor Ebeling. These letters are bound together in a single volume (MS. Amer. 576). Two other letters to Bentley, dated January 3, and May 24, 1817 are preserved in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.
4. Letters to Joel Barlow, four in number, 1795 to 1812, among the Barlow papers in Harvard College Library.
5. Letters to Rev. John Eliot, Corresponding Secretary of the Mass. Hist. Soc. 1799-1810. Bound with others in a volume of Letters labelled "C. S. M. H. S. 1792-1811." in the Mass. Hist. Soc.

In the Pickering Papers in the Mass. Hist. Soc. there are letters to Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State, from the American Consul at Hamburg, 12 April, 1797, written on behalf of Ebeling, and letters from Pickering to the Consul, Nov. 25, 1797 and March 28, 1798, with other letters to correspondents at home, soliciting books for Ebeling.

6. A letter to Professor Joseph McKean of Harvard University, dated June 11, 1817. Recently presented to the Harvard Library. It contains references to previous letters.

That Ebeling had a tolerably wide circle of correspondents may be gathered from the letters which remain. Besides those named above, we find the following persons mentioned here and there in the letters,—most of them well-known characters of the time in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston:—Noah Webster, Mathew Carey, John Örmrod, Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, David Ramsay, Timothy Pickering, Jedidiah Morse, Abiel Holmes, Jacob Crowninshield, Isaiah Thomas and Oliver Fiske, Samuel Miller, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, Judge St. George Tucker, Bishop Madison, Charles Gheguiere of Baltimore, Dr. Henry E. Muhlenberg, theologian and botanist, and perhaps others. President Willard of Harvard University was evidently of the number, for the Harvard Library received among Ebeling's books a copy of the Order of Exercises for Commencement in 1794, which had been sent to him by President Willard. It is interesting to note that this copy which came back to us from Hamburg is the only copy of this sheet which has survived in the possession of the University. The same is true of a copy of the earliest Catalogue of the Phi Beta Kappa Society (1806), a copy which some American friend sent to Ebeling.

In the following pages I try to give the substance of his letters, partly in abstract and partly by quotation; omitting in general what he has to say about European political conditions²; but including some of his remarks about German books and authors and stressing mainly his efforts to get reliable sources of information for his American History, his eagerness to oblige his American correspondents by sending them over books from Germany in return for what they were sending

²Portions of Ebeling's letters relating to the political conditions of Europe in his time are printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1926.

him, and the glimpses of his daily life which the letters reveal.

Professor Ebeling's English is that of a foreigner and by no means faultless, but it is expressive and has a charm of its own, marked by occasional original words and phrases, reminiscent of French and German forms. I have made no changes in his language or spelling except in two or three minor points. He commonly writes *to* for *too*, *than* for *then*, and *sent* for *send*. These words I have changed, and I have not hesitated to correct obvious slips of the pen. His use of capitals I have followed in general, but I have mended his punctuation when the change would facilitate reading.

Most of the books and maps spoken of by Ebeling as received from his American correspondents are now on the shelves of the Harvard Library. Many of those which he sent to his friend Dr. Bentley in Salem have also found their way to the Harvard Library in recent years, through exchanges with the American Antiquarian Society to which Bentley bequeathed a part of his library. The former, when mentioned in the notes, are designated by an asterisk, the latter by two asterisks, to avoid a constant repetition of the statement of their source and history.

The earliest letter in the series is the long and interesting one to President Stiles, which was printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Second series, VIII, 270-275 (1819) where it may readily be consulted, so that no more than a mere abstract is needed here. It was accompanied by a letter of commendation from Joel Barlow, then resident in Hamburg, dated May 27, 1794, in which he speaks of Professor Ebeling as a "gentleman of great eminence in literature, philosophy and republican principles." Barlow's letter is likewise printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, and the two letters are accompanied by an editorial note by Jared Sparks.³

³The original manuscript of Ebeling's letter, a copy of Barlow's in the hand of Jared Sparks, and the manuscript of Sparks's editorial note, were presented to the Harvard Library in 1861 by Dr. Winslow Lewis of Boston who had lately acquired them by purchase.

TO EZRA STILES, PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE

JUNE 26, 1794.

[The author sends to his correspondent the first volume of his "Description and History," and having found great difficulty in obtaining reliable information on Rhode Island and Connecticut, begs President Stiles to favor him with his advice "especially in indicating to me those sources of information I was unacquainted with." He describes in detail the plan and extensive scope of his work for which he had begun to collect materials twenty years before, and upon which he was to be engaged until his death more than twenty years later.]

I confess it is an arduous task I undertook, but I was incited to persevere by the animating beauty of the object, the many imperfect and false accounts Europe has of your country, and the possible good effect which a faithful picture of a truly free republic founded upon the most solid foundations, could produce in the most part of Europe, so very remote from such happiness as you enjoy. I even dared to flatter myself that my book could in some way contribute to rectify those mistaken ideas of liberty, which begin to prevail in two equally destructive manners, viz. as French libertinism, or English, German, and Russian despotism, have been instrumental in forming them.

[When he has covered the fifteen states of the Union and the western country, he intends to add a separate, general volume on the United States as a whole, to cover Spanish America in three volumes and the other European colonies in three or four more. (In fact he succeeded in completing the New England and Middle States, but got no further than Virginia to which his seventh volume was devoted.)]²

²President Stiles replied in a long letter covering 60 quarto pages, dated February 20 and finished April 13, 1795; but this was too late to be of use for Ebeling's second volume which was finished, as stated in a note on p. 1135, March 12, 1795.

The original Ms. of President Stiles's reply came to the Library with Ebeling's books in 1818. This and the letters from Ebeling and Barlow are now bound together in one slender volume (Ms. Amer. 823).

The map collection of the Harvard Library also has a copy of Doolittle's map, "Connecticut. From the best authorities," which was sent by President Stiles to Ebeling. On the back Ebeling has noted "adapted to the ancient History of Connecticut by the Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, New-haven, 1794." A Ms. note on the front in Stiles's hand states that the map has been colored to show the Connecticut Colony and its connections, the New Haven Colony and its connections, and the Wilderness in 1640.

TO REV. JEREMY BELKNAP

SEPTEMBER 20, 1794.

Printed in the Belknap Papers, vol. III. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV. 579-584.)

Synopsis. Gratitude for gifts received and appreciation of Belknap's American Biography and History of New Hampshire. Other books and gazettes he desires to obtain. The Dutch and French translations of his America. Partiality and unreliability of Peter's Connecticut. American correspondents to whom he has written and questions he means to lay before them. Severe fire in Boston and new methods for extinguishing fires. European war news.

TO REV. JEREMY BELKNAP

JUNE 6 AND JUNE 28, 1795.

Two letters, printed in the Belknap Papers, vol. III. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV. 594-601.)

Synopsis. A box of books and maps sent off with haste. Thanks to Mr. Freeman, Mr. Morse and Mr. Pearson for favors received. Letters and books received from Dr. Belknap. Thanks to the Massachusetts Historical Society for the honor of membership. Will attempt to gather and send German books on American history. Receipt of President Stiles's manuscript account of Connecticut. Barlow recommends a young Englishman to translate the America into English. Offers to sell copies of Belknap's books. American news and newspapers much delayed, the ship having been saved from the ice by Helgolanders who had not yet come to terms about delivery. European news. List of books and maps sent. Account of the review of Belknap's American Biography in the "Götting. Anzeiger."

TO REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, OF SALEM

JUNE 28, 1795.

REVEREND SIR

Some time ago I did myself the honor to send you a copy of the second volume of my Geography of America, as I knew you possess the first and read our language. I hope you have recieved the Book and beg you will accept of it, as a mark of

my esteem. I was obliged to send my box to Mr. Muller so abruptly that I was not able to accompany my Book with a letter. The present is intended to make good that fault.

I should think myself very happy if you would do me the honor to read my book and mark out the many faults I necessarily must have committed by want of materials if not by my own inadvertence or incapacity. Many I have allready found out, but there will remain still more unknown to me. I have allready the new Description of Worcester County,¹ Williams excellent Book on Vermont² and am in hopes to get Sullivan's Description of Main.³ The excellent collection of the historical Society will afford me a great many materials for enlargement and emendations in a second Edition which I am preparing. If it appears, I shall not fail to send you a better Copy, as I desired the Bookseller to have it better printed than the present.

You will be forbearing enough, Reverend Sir, to pardon my boldness if I required too much of you. I should not wish at all to encroach upon your time, or to hurry your Review of my Book when you think it worth your criticism. If ever so short and severe I shall be very thankfull and not forgett to acknowledge publickly the favour you did me, which is the greater a benefait as it was bestowed upon an unknown stranger. But the Americans are praised for their Hospitality. This is also the reason that will apologize for my unelegant and uncorrect stile.

I have the honor to be with great respect Reverend Sir Your most obedient Servant. My Book was directed to Messrs. Matthias Muller and Kähler at Boston.

C. D. EBELING.

¹Peter Whitney. The history of the county of Worcester . . . With a geographical description of the same. Worcester, I. Thomas, 1793.* Inscribed "Professor Ebeling of the Great College at Hamburg, from his very respectful humble serv^t Jed^h Morse. May 1794."

²Samuel Williams. The natural and civil history of Vermont. Walpole, N. H. 1794.*

³James Sullivan. The history of the district of Maine. Boston, 1795.* Ebeling's copy in the Harvard Library lacks the map; but the Harvard map collection has a Ms. copy (in Ebeling's hand) of Osgood Carleton's map, "The District of Main from the latest Surveys," 1793.

TO JOEL BARLOW

SEPT. 15, 1795.

DEAR CITIZEN

I must follow you to the other world if you go thither, why not to Paris¹, where we liked to go to, when we were sitting talking together in my Room here? You are well I hope. Mr. Ziegler who brings you this letter, a very worthy young man, whom you remember to have seen at our Academy will tell you how I do. Well enough, and even better than I deserve.

I am allways in our dear beloved America. If a volume of my book was finished I should send it you. But I shall not fail to do it as soon it is ready. So I send you very soon my American magazine, whereof I expect the first part every day from Leipsic where it is printed.

From America I have still many letters but am very unfortunate with Philadelphians. Our worthy President Stiles is no more. Mr. Morse² wrote me that he died in March after a short illness. I sat just down to write him, when I got the Letter, and had allready begun another for our deceased friend for whom I had many Talmudical Books he desired me to buy for him. It is not interest that made me wish him a longer life tho' I loose much.

Mr Dwight his successor is certainly the same who wrote the Conq of Canaan, and Greenfield Hill³. He is certainly a poet worth of praise. Perhaps you will blame me, when I say that I prefer Greenf. Hill to Canaan; and really I am blameable be-

¹Barlow had come over from America in 1788 and since that year had lived at times in France, at times in England, making frequent business trips to other parts of Europe. In May 1794 he had visited Hamburg where he formed a warm friendship with Ebeling. In a letter to Dr. Belknap, September 20, 1794, Ebeling wrote: "The friendship of the worthy Mr. Barlow, from Connecticut, who lives now at Altona, next our town, is very dear and useful to me. He gives me many instructions about your country, and its history in modern times." In the autumn of 1795 Barlow had returned to Paris and was soon to undertake the difficult mission to the Dey of Algiers.

²Jedidiah Morse of Charlestown, Mass., the "American Geographer" and author of the "American Universal Geography," the "American Gazetteer" and other works. Ebeling frequently speaks of him but has no very high opinion of his books.

³Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, 1795-1817. His *Conquest of Canaan** was published in 1785 and *Greenfield Hill** in 1794. Ebeling has written on the fly-leaf of the former: "The author was born in Northampton in Massachusetts. In 1795 he was still a minister at Greenfield where he had an Academy. After Dr. Stiles's Death he was called by the _____ to succeed him as president. He is a man of learning and has an amiable character. (Barlow)"

cause I read the one attentively and not the other (but only *raptim*) and yet dare to pronounce a judgement.

[After relating the last exciting events in Europe and in Hamburg, he returns to American affairs.]

What do you say of Jay's Treaty? We solemnly burn him in effigy, as they do even at New York. Our friend Webster will not fail to defend him.⁴ I see its preambles in his last papers. I should like, he was *defensible*.

How much do I feel your absence and the want of your instructive conversation! My third part will resent itself thereof. I am now wandering thro New Jersey, almost without a guide. Carey's new Geography⁵ has very good supplements to Morse in Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, but none in New York and New Jersey.

I wish to hear soon of you and your Lady. You arrived save, you are well, found many of your friends at Paris and live there à souhait. So it ought to be, or this world is not the best. I should not maintain it to be so, because I am loaded with grief in my family, tho' I have none properly speaking. How happy were we without sickness, death, passions, Kings, and wars! Yet vive la Republique!

Salut et prosperité C. D. E.

I say nothing of my respects to your Lady. Cela s'en va sans dire. You will suppose that for ever. Otherwise you will doubt also my friendship and my wishes for yours, because I did not mention it.

Mr Ziegler will deliver you a map which belongs to those of Germany you have. The others are not yet out.

⁴Noah Webster, the dictionary maker, long a friend and correspondent of Barlow's. In 1793, Webster had become the editor of a new daily newspaper in New York, the "American Minerva" (afterwards the "New York Commercial Advertiser") established for the defense of Washington's administration. In this paper, under the signature of Curtius, he published in twelve numbers his "Vindication of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with Great Britain. These letters were reprinted in a compilation published by Mathew Carey entitled "Treaty of amity commerce and navigation . . . to which is annexed a copious appendix, Philadelphia, Aug. 12, 1795," 16°, pp. 194-275; and in the "Second edition, Philadelphia, Nov. 2, 1795," 8° pp. 58-108. Ebeling had scattering numbers of the "American Minerva" from March 1795, to October 1796; but none of the numbers now among the Ebeling newspapers contain the "Curtius" letters.

⁵He probably refers to William Guthrie's "A new system of modern geography." First American edition. Philadelphia, Mathew Carey, 1794-95. 2 vols. 4°

Mr Sotzman⁶ and my map of Connecticut is ready and by a proof sheet I find it is very well done as to the most possible exactitude (as far as we can judge) as to design and engraving. I shall send it you soon. A Jove principium, we begin with your mother country!

TO JOEL BARLOW

MARCH 16, 1796.

DEAR SIR

It is so late that I heard of our Friend Mr Sieveking's¹ departure for Paris, that I have only a few moments left to tell you that I am still alive, that I love you as heartily as ever, and that I hope you are safely returned from your self chose slavery at Algiers. Mr St John,² who is well with us, and whose friendship makes me happy as well as his instructive conversations is very usefull to me, does me the honor to see me sometimes, tho' not so often as I wish. I fear he is anxious to keep me from my work.³

I have been sickly, and lived mostly at home since your departure. My America advances slowly, I am now in the Back parts of Pennsylvania. As soon as the 3 volume is complete (it is nearly so) I shall send you it; but please to inform me to which place I shall direct it. You gave me hope to return once more to Hambrough, but you went to look for Freedom in Algiers as if it was not to be found as well in Hambrough as there.⁴

My Correspondence with America is increasing, but not *immense* as Professor Cramer⁵ now at Paris, had published. The death of Mr President Stiles I knew from Mr Morse the

⁶See the footnote on p. 289.

¹Georg Heinrich Sieveking, a prosperous Hamburg merchant of a prominent and influential family. He had been a pupil of Ebeling's at the Handelsakademie, and was one of the group that hailed the French Revolution with enthusiasm. He visited America in 1811 (see page 408) and was active in trying to turn American trade toward Hamburg.

²St. John de Crèvecoeur had sought refuge from Paris in Altona, a suburb of Hamburg, in May, 1795, and remained there until April, 1796, when it was considered safe for him to return to France.

³i. e. anxious lest he keep me from my work.

⁴Barlow left Paris for Algiers in January, 1796, and did not return to France from his troublesome negotiations with the Dey until September, 1797.

⁵Probably Karl Friedrich Cramer, 1752-1807, professor of Greek and Oriental languages at Kiel who, like Ebeling, had entertained high hopes of the beneficence of the French Revolution. In 1794, he lived for a short time in Hamburg, then moved to Paris with his family and became a bookseller.

same day when I was sitting down to write him. Mr Webster escaped the yellow fever happily.⁶ A translation of my America is now printing at Paris. The translator lives here and I gave him a great many corrections and additions whether he translates well I cannot say, but I know he is very diligent and carefull. He is a learned Frenchman Mr. Bassette.⁷

Before you leave this eastern world, you will, I hope write a few lines to your Friend.

Your Lady is well and did not accompany you into the sad abode of slavery. I wish you will give my respects to her.

I dont write you any political news, for we have none worth a philosophical thinking Friend of human kind. I am just writing on the American treaty, partly as an apology, partly as an impeachment of Mr Jay. No American treaty should even give up for a moment the essential rights of a free people to feed an other free people tho' this was at war with an enslaved one of Mr Pitt's making. But away with politics.

If you and your Lady only live happy and remember me, I shall be content. You know that I am and ever shall be yours. Salut et Fraternité⁸.

C. D. EBELING.

[Addressed]

A Joel Barlow
Citoyen d'Amérique
Consul général des Etats unis
à Algiers
par Paris et Marseille
par les soins des Citoyens Dallarde et Sivan
à Paris

⁶Noah Webster was living in Philadelphia in 1793 at the time of the yellow fever epidemic.

⁷In fact the French translation of Ebeling's work was never printed. A Dutch translation, by Y. van Hamelsveld, was published at Zwolle in 1796, four volumes. Ebeling mentions the French translation in letters to Belknap, Sept. 20, 1794, and June 28, 1795 (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IV. 582,596.) The final failure of his plan is recorded in a letter to Belknap, April 28, 1798. "The book I hope and fear will never be published. The bookseller at Paris and here quarrelled, and the translator with both, and for not to be involved I retired myself *en bon ordre*. A Dutch translation has appeared. I wished for an English or French only that my friends in America may be enabled to read my Geography and I may profit of their remarks and corrections." (*Ibid.* p. 622.)

⁸Among the Barlow papers in the Harvard Library is a long and detailed account of the University of Göttingen in Ebeling's hand. It was apparently inclosed in this letter, though the letter itself makes no reference to it.

TO DR. BENTLEY

APRIL 29, 1796.

REVEREND SIR

Captain Barr has been so kind as to deliver me himself your very obliging Letter of February 25th. with the valuable presents contained in the accompanying it. Allow me to give you my hearty thanks for your kindness. Most of them were new to me. Of Carey's Maps I had only a few, as I have *his* Geography¹ but without the maps. Howell's map² is excellent and I am now very busy in making use of it. That and Griffith's of Maryland³ I prefer to almost all other large maps of the U St. The newspapers were no less acceptable, as my other Correspondents in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore had delayed for a long time to send me the papers of their place. I take the liberty to send you in return some books which I wish may be welcome to you. You will find amongst them only the first part of our best German Dictionary⁴; the second is just now finished but not yet here in town. I shall not fail to send it as soon as possible as also some of Eichhorn's and Michaelis's best works which I hope to get at an auction, as they are not to be found at present in the bookseller shops of this town. Some of them are quite out of print. A very good English and German Dictionary is now printing here, which will be finished next winter. *Adlungs* is the best [*marginal note*]. Another good dictionary is not yet existing. His large in 5 volumes in quarto is too dear and too prolix.⁵], only that by his partiality to a certain class of Poets, many of the most expressive words of our best Poets as Klopstock, Count Stolberg and others are wanting. Büshings new

¹See note 5 on p. 285. In the map collection are several of Doolittle's maps, "for Carey's American edition of Guthrie's Geography improved."

Ebeling also had at this time or later, "Carey's American atlas," containing twenty maps and one chart. Philadelphia, 1795. f^o. With Ebeling's autograph on the title-page.

²A map of the state of Pennsylvania, by Reading Howell. 1792. 4 sheets.*

³Map of the state of Maryland, . . . and the federal territory, as also a sketch of the state of Delaware. By Dennis Griffith. 1794.*

⁴Joh. Chr. Adelung's Grammatisch-Kritisches Wörterbuch der hoch-deutschen Mundart. Leipzig, 1793-1801. 4 vols.

⁵Adelung's Versuch eines vollständigen grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuches der hochdeutschen Mundart. Leipzig, 1774-86. 5 vols.

edition⁶ coasts 30 [thalers] current which is not so much as 8 Dollars, at the present exchange. It comprises 11 volumes. I took the liberty to add the newest maps of Germany and the northern parts of Europe. I hope this year to publish the first volume of a critical Review of all maps existing, as far as came to my knowledge; we have fine collections here, and I have myself about 8 thousand.⁷ There is publishing now under my inspection a collection of Maps of America by the Geographer of the Academy at Berlin Mr. Sotzman an able mapmaker.⁸ Three are now in the Hand of the Engraver viz: (1.) *New Hampshire* according to Holland and Mr. Belknap (I have marked with* what is in Holland and seem's to be obsolete). (2.) *Vermont* after Whitelaw and Blodget. (3.) *Connecticut* after Blodget, Carey and two other maps published in Holland. 4. *Pennsylvania* according to Howell is to follow these, for I intend not to go on, before there exist in your country such maps as there are approved of as exact. I shall not fail to send these maps as they appear.

What is published of new Books in Philadelphia I get mostly not only for myself, but also for the University of Göttingen. Therefore I would beg you, Sir, to help me only in collecting those new Books which are published in the New England

⁶Anton Friedrich Büsching. *Erdbeschreibung*, Theil I-X. Hamburg, 1787-92.** The parts are of different editions from the 5th to the 8th. This is the series in which Ebeling's *Amerika* was issued as the 13th part.

⁷The foundation of Ebeling's map collection was that of Georg Friedrich Brandes, who died in 1792. Ebeling acquired this collection soon after Brandes's death and by 1794 had begun to add to it steadily.

⁸D. F. Sotzmann. *Amerikanischer Atlas*, auch zu Büschings *Erdbeschreibung* von Amerika, von Ebeling. Hamburg, 1796-1810. 10 sheets. The Harvard Library has no copy of the Atlas, but it has all the maps as separate sheets, two or three copies of several of them. All are lettered,—“Entworfen von D. F. Sotzmann. Hamburg, bey Carl Ernst Bohn. P. Schmidt sc. Berlin.” They are numbered as follows:

[I] Vermont (lettered XVI) 1796. II. New Hampshire. 1796. III. Massachusetts. Undated. IV. Maine. 1798. V. Rhode Island. 1797. VI. Connecticut. 1796. VII. New York. 1799. VIII. New Jersey. 1797. IX. Pennsylvania. 1797. X. Maryland and Delaware. 1797. Apparently Virginia was never engraved. Later letters show that Ebeling found difficulty in getting the material.

In a letter to Belknap, Oct. 1, 1796, he wrote: “As soon as six maps are completed, I shall join a memoir giving an account of the materials and authors made use of in the construction of each map. The county division in New Hampshire is taken from your map. Connecticut is particularly taken from Blodget's and De Barres's map. Now there are engraved Vermont, Pennsylvania (according to Howell), and Maryland from Griffith. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IV, 608.)

Although the maps were later issued in atlas form, the introductory memoir apparently was never written.

States, Vermont included. Mr. Noah Webster furnishes me with Books from New York. Mr. Carey, Mr. Ormrod and the very kind Dr Smith Barton with those from Philadelphia and the southern States.⁹ Dr. Ramsay¹⁰ was also exceedingly obliging to me in procuring me some valuable materials. How much I owe to the great goodness of the Rev. Dr. Belknap¹¹ and many other members of the Historical Society, you will know allready. I have no words to praise their kindness. Dr. Morse also furnished me with many materials¹², and I was happy to send him something about Europe for his Book. I regrett only that he does not understand our language. I have sent him the most necessary and best books on Statistical matters of Europe, some in french, which I suppose he reads. Criticism on his work I wish may not irritate him, but rather incite him to correct, amend and supply his Book. I wrote him that I thought a Geographer should wish that in every place of the lands he describes there was a very severe but exact and just Reviewer of his Book. No kind of litterary composition is more subject to errors. Perhaps he indulges too

⁹Mathew Carey, publisher and bookseller in Philadelphia from 1784 to his death in 1839. John Ormrod was a bookseller in Philadelphia during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, 1766-1815, had received his medical degree at Göttingen after preliminary studies in Edinburgh and London. Professor of natural history and botany (1789) and materia medica (1795) in the College of Philadelphia. In 1813 he became Professor of theory and practice in the University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰Dr. David Ramsay, 1749-1815, a well known physician of Charleston and author of several works on the history of South Carolina and of the American Revolution.

¹¹Rev. Jeremy Belknap, 1744-1798, pastor of the Federal Street church in Boston from 1787 to his death, one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791. Ebeling sent him many books and received many volumes in return.

¹²Rev. Jedidiah Morse, of Charlestown. Ebeling had many of his publications: *The American geography*. Elizabethtown, 1789.* Annotated freely by Ebeling. *Elements of geography*. Boston, Dec. 1795*. *The American universal geography*. Part I. 3d ed. Boston, June 1796*. With notes and memoranda in Ebeling's hand on the fly-leaves at the end.

Same. Part II. 2d ed. Boston, June 1796*.

Same. Part II. 3d ed. Boston, July 1801*.

Same. Part I. 5th ed. Boston, August 1805*.

Same. Vol. I. 6th ed. Boston, May 1812*.

Geography made easy; being an abridgement of the American universal geography. 4th ed. Boston, 1794*. Inscribed "Professor Ebeling from The Author. May, 1794."

The American Gazetteer. Boston, 1797*.

Same. 2d ed., revised. Boston, 1804*.

An abridgment of the American gazetteer. Boston, June 1798*. Inscribed "Professor Ebeling from The Author."

much in general reflections on people and their Character. That is a very nice [i.e. difficult?] thing.

There is now printing a french translation of my Geography at Paris¹³. It would have been published allready, was it not for a quarrel of the Bookseller with another at Strasbourg who announced another translation. That of Paris has several corrections and additions of mine, as far as time allowed me to add; for the translator was very busy out of fear of being forestalled. I shall send some copies to my friends in America when it comes out.

Your communication and hints are very instructive to me, and I shall think myself happy if you will continue them whenever you are at leisure. I had written a little sketch of my american Library as far as belongs to New England to Dr. Belknap, which I will beg him to communicate to you that you may see what I have allready.

What I mostly wish for is

1. The New Laws of New Hampshire.
2. Those of your State. I have them down to 1795, page 491 Folio Edition.
3. Those of Rhode Island of which I have not been able to get any.
4. Those of Connecticut untill 1794, October 10th.
5. The new Map of Massachusetts, which you mention is preparing now.

Of the other new Books published in the last year I have *not* yet:¹⁴ Kent on Civil government

¹³See p. 287 note.

¹⁴Not all the titles can be easily identified. A part are as follows:
James Kent. *Dissertations: being the preliminary part of a course of law lectures.* New York, 1795.*

Zephaniah Swift. *A system of the laws of the state of Connecticut.* Windham, 1795-96. 2 vols.*

Esra Stiles. *History of three of the judges of King Charles I.* Hartford, 1794*. Inscribed "From Judge Winthrop to W. B." Bentley must have sent it to Ebeling.
William Duke. *Observations on the present state of religion in Maryland.* Baltimore, 1795.

Thomas Reese. *An essay on the influence of religion in civil society.* Charleston, 1788.

Baltimore directory for 1796. By Thompson and Walker. Baltimore. (1796).
James Ellia. *A narrative of the rise, progress, and issue of the late lawsuits relative to property held and devoted to pious uses in the first precinct in Rehoboth.* Warren, R. I. 1795.

As to the "papers relative to the Bishop of Connecticut," see what is said of a volume of pamphlets from Bentley in Ebeling's letter of Sept. 7, 1799, p. 338.

Swift's System of Connecticut Laws
 Concise History of U States till 1795
 Prospects of the American war in 1771
 American army in the winter 1777
 Military System
 Stile's (my late worthy and uncommonly obliging correspondent's!) Life of the Three Judges
 Observations on the State of Religion in Maryland
 Reese on Religion in South Carolina
 Directory of Baltimore
 Minerals and Fossils of New York
 Ellis's History of Rehoboth
 Papers relative to the Bishop of Connecticut [Samuel Seabury]

If these were easily to be found at Salem you would oblige me very much by procuring me them. Mr Matthias Muller Merchant at Boston whom you know, will pay you the amount of them immediately.

I expect with much desire your remarks upon my Geography. Don't spare me. The admonitions of an intelligent Critic, however severe, are restorative balm to an Author, who feels his weakness. Many errors of mine I see already, but far more are unknown to me. When I composed the description of Massachusetts I was deprived of that excellent collection of the Historical Society of which I shall make the best use I am able to in a second Edition, which seems to be near at hand. Many other instructive Books I have since got by Rev. Dr Belknap's singular kindness. The errors of the printer are very great.

[A list of a dozen or more errata follows, which it seems unnecessary to print at the present day.]

This only as a proof that I am not blind to my faults, and shall be obliged to you if you will point out others to me without reserve.

I will be much obliged to you if you will continue to send me the "Salem Gazette." Mr. Muller sends me the "Centinell," but so seldom and so very defective that those you procured me were far more than a wished for supplement. I had only a

few of 1795 before these. The Massach. magazine¹⁶ I also get from him but his business prevents him to attend to such trifles and I have them mostly imperfect.

If the Journals of the Assembly and Senate are printed in any of the States of New England I should be glad to have them, if ever so dear, if only complete for some years at least, especially since the war.

I have begun an American Magazine,¹⁶ whereof I send you a copy. The second part is printing now. The first printed at Leipsic (where it is far more cheap than here) was printed shamefully incorrect, the revisor not understanding english. This you will excuse. Many faults are even in the german words.

I add a few titles of our newest books in divinity, philology of the Bible, etc. If you wish for any of them I can now and then get them cheaper in auctions as in the Bookseller's shops.

The haste which I was in to procure your Books made it impossible to have them bound as our Booksellers sell all unbound.¹⁷

I have the honour to be with much thankfulness and very great esteem

Reverend Sir

Your

much obliged and very humble

Servant

EBELING

[A list of about 20 titles, with critical remarks on the authors, follows.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

OCTOBER 1, 1796.

REVEREND SIR

I hope my letter of May 2^d together with

Adelung's Dictionary V. I.

My Geography Vol. 3.

¹⁶Massachusetts magazine, or Monthly museum. Vol. I-VIII. Boston. 1789-96*.

¹⁶Amerikanisches Magazin, 1795-97. See the full title and brief description on p. 276.

¹⁷Apparently this is the letter of which Dr. Bentley records in his Diary, August 18, 1796 (II. 194).—"A long letter from Professor Ebeling lays me out a great scene of duty in providing Books in return for his donation, and in examining his work."

My American Magazine P. 1

and several other books which I took the liberty to send you in witness of my gratitude came save to hand; as the worthy Captain Barr was so kind to give them to a friend of his to bring them to Boston and from thence to you.

I now take the liberty to send you the second volume of the Dictionary as also 12 parts of Michaelis's *Oriental Library* (complete) and the second part of my Magazine which you will kindly accept of. I have added some German newspapers which perhaps may give you a better Idea of the unhappy war in Germany than the English tho' they are mostly as partial as these, for the liberty of the press is never more restricted than in newspapers with us.

If you occasionally will procure me of Salem newspapers or of such as your newspaper writer may throw away of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Kentucky, the Carolinas, and Georgia (from the middle States I get them from New York, Philad. & Baltimore,) you will much oblige me by sending them to Mr. John Kähler, Merchant at Boston; who will at the same time pay all expenses incurred thereby. He sends me regularly the Boston Centinel.

What I wish particularly for is your remarks on my Book if you think it worth your attention. A new Edition will be required next year.

I shall be very glad if I can be serviceable to you in any way in my power and I have the honour to be with great esteem

Reverend Sir

Your

most obedient servant

C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BELKNAP

OCTOBER 1, 1796.

Printed in the Belknap Papers, Vol. III. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV. 607-609.)

[The writer thanks Bentley for letters written almost a year before but received within a few days, for maps, and for the Collections of the Historical Society, "the only source wherein one may drink deep, as Pope says." He sends to the Society

the first five maps of his American Atlas, noting the sources drawn upon for each. He comments on the recent disastrous events in Europe and the devastation of southern Germany by the French who "always kept excellent discipline when victorious but not at all when routed" and by the "execrable barbarity" of the Austrians who never were restrained from pillage even when in a friend's land. He rejoices that France has saved the Hanse towns from subjugation by Prussia.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

LUNEBURG, JUNE 3, 1797.

[Dated at Lüneburg "35 miles from Hamburgh," the writer being about to undertake a journey to the baths at Nenndorf¹ because he has suffered more than four months from arthritis. Acknowledges receipt of Bentley's letters of March 21 and 19. As to the box, Mr. Williams,² the American consul, "my neighbour whom I am bold to call my friend will procure it to be

¹Not far from Hannover, a part of the country with which Ebeling's family had been familiar. In a letter to Dr. Belknap, April 28, 1798 (Mass. Hist. Soc. VI. Coll. iv. 620) Ebeling says that his father had been "superintendent of the churches in Lüneburg preaching twice per week, visiting the sick ones throughout the large town."

²References to the friendly offices of Samuel Williams, the American Consul at Ham- burg are frequent, and it is evident that Williams was actively helpful. Among the Pickering papers, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. is preserved a letter from Williams to Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State (April 12, 1797) in which he states that Professor Ebeling's correspondents are so negligent in procuring and forwarding American books that he has been asked to get them through some of his friends. He asks the Secretary to give the enclosed list of books to a bookseller and guarantees payment. He observes that there are more frequent opportunities for shipment from Philadelphia (then the seat of government) than from Boston. He writes—"Mr. Ebeling is a worthy man, a warm friend of our Country, and wishes to write a faithful and accurate History of it. He has been greatly disappointed in procuring information. I wish to serve him."

Other letters among the Pickering papers show that Pickering followed up the search with personal letters. November 2, 1797 he wrote to Judge Iredell for a copy of his North Carolina Laws, and he notes that he wrote the same day to Col. Carrington for the Virginia Laws and to Baltimore for the documents wanted from Maryland. On November 25 he wrote to Williams that he had not yet been able to get the books and papers wanted by Ebeling, but that he will forward them as soon as he can. On March 28, 1798, a letter to Williams states that he is sending by the ship Philadelphia a copy of Iredell's Laws of North Carolina and enumerates other items sent by the same ship, among them a book and a letter for Mr. Ebeling. This copy of Iredell returned to America with Ebeling's collections in 1818 but is no longer to be found. The Library of the Law School has another copy.

Again on July 28, 1798 he wrote, addressing "Joseph Pitcairn, Consul at Ham- burg," giving instructions as to delivery of several letters and packages to be sent on a Danish vessel sailing the next day. "I send you herewith two copies of the Instructions and dispatches one of which I beg you to present to Professor Ebeling with my respectful compliments."

brought to my house in my absence." Promises to send more books on his return.]

In the meantime I have made up a small parcell for you as far as could [be] done in haste containing (1) a Book of Dr Noesselt³ one of our worthiest Divines, which will show you the present state of our theological litterature down to 1793. The following years you will know (2) by the Gotha learned news papers⁴ It is one of our best, and certainly the most complete of all and very impartial. The other called *Jenaische Litteratur Zeitung*⁵ is likewise very good, but in all what regards philosophy very partial for the new Kantian System which tho' exceedingly subtil, metaphysical, and rich in new terminologies, invented by the great thinker Mr Kant for his new abstract and even paradoxical Ideas, and tho' scarce [i. e. almost?] unintelligible to any not very well versed in the Books of this Philosopher, yet has become the Philosophy à la mode in many universities (even roman catholick ones, because it has many likelinesses with the old scholastical) and even among ladies that all speak in Kantian Terms—without understanding them. Kant has several Sectaries, some of them clever Men worthy of their Master, many more only adhering to his terminology, without penetrating their true sense, which is often very nice and subtil, as fine distinctions and I may say dissections of Ideas are the force of the new Philosopher (a man living in old age at Königsberg where he was many years Professor, but begun to write only these 10 years ago)

The Göttingen learned newspaper is excellent for us, but not for foreigners, for it reviews mostly foreign Works. I shall continue to send you the Gotha Paper as I hear you wish for more ample accounts of our litterature. In my letters, if you will allow me the pleasure, I shall supply the lacunae of the Gotha paper. I am patriotical enough to wish you may have more learned men among you following your example. Much is written in Germany, far too much, but as there are more than

³Joh. August Nösselt, 1734–1807, professor of theology at Halle and author of many theological treatises. The book sent was probably his "Anweisung zur Kenntnis der besten theologischen Bücher," 3^e aufl., Leipzig, 1791.**

⁴The Gothaische gelehrte Zeitungen. The Harvard Library has an incomplete set from 1774 to 1804.** See also pp. 309, 372.

⁵See p. 335 note.

40 millions of people reading German as far as Moscow and Archangel to the north and Bern to the south, all finds its readers. And it must be confessed that there are many good and even excellent Books among the many.

It will be a great pleasure to me to procure you what you wish for out of our literature, and I shall send you soon catalogues of new Books. I send also political news papers of this year and shall not fail to continue.

[Has learned that the parcel of May 2 sent by Captain Barr has arrived and hopes the same is true of the three parcels mentioned in his letter of October 1, 1796, addressed to Mr. Kahler.]

I have got Dr Morse's new Edition from Philadelphia.⁶ He has not send it me, as he did with the second, and not written me since a long time. His part of Europe is I confess rather too defective and erroneous, which could have been avoided if he had read German and French. At his request I sent him our best geographical Books, others may have been procured from France about Spain, Italy and France itself. Hamburg certainly at present the second trading town in the World, containing at present at least 110,000 inhabitants, has found no place for a Description only being mentioned obiter with other Hanse towns or free towns of Germany. I shall send Dr Morse annotations if I shall not offend him by my liberty.

In my last part now printing and containing Pennsylvania and Delaware I could not make much use of his Geography, as he is not particular enough, and I take from the same sources of information with him, and from many german ones printed in Germany but written in America about Pennsylvania.

I should be very sorry if Rev Dr Belknap had not received the Catalogue of my american Library which I sent him, if I am not mistaken, by one Captain Smith last November.

I regret to leave a Correspondent allready to whom I owe so very much and have the honour to be with great gratitude.

Reverend Sir

Your

most obedient Servant.

C. D. EBELING.

⁶The third edition of Part I and the second of Part II, published June, 1796. See p. 290 note.

TO DR. BELKNAP

LUNEBURG, JUNE 4, 1797.¹

[Similar in substance to the letter of the previous day to Dr. Bentley. Mentions the parcels sent October 1, 1796; and now sends maps of the last theatre of war in Europe.]

We are happy to have peace in Germany tho' at the expense of the late aristocratical Republic of Venice and Genua.

TO DR. BENTLEY

JULY 11, 1797.

REVEREND SIR

I just returned this morning from a very effective journey to the Bath of Nendorf in Hassia, when I found two Boxes with Books and newspapers which I owe to your Kindness. I only could run thro' them in a hurry, and can assure You that almost all of the books were new to me. That they will be of great use to me is not doubtfull as You were the *selector* if I may hazard that word. Your inestimable letter full of instructions and advice must be studied, not only read. I had just finished with the latter, when the inclosed billet of our worthy Friend Mr. Williams was given me.

The hurry wherein I am, the accumulated business since five weeks absence makes it impossible to me to answer fully your letter, and to send some equivalent to your valuable books, pamphlets, and maps.

I only can send now

1. Büsching's newest Edition 10 volumes¹
2. Ammianus Marcellinus
3. Aeschylus as far as the only and best Edition in Germany is published. The continuation will appear certainly this year.²
4. Schleusner's Lexicon containing the best Selection of Interpretations of the greek N. T. extant in Germany
5. Less's Dogmatics³

¹Belknap papers. Mass. Hist. Soc.

²His "Neue Erdbeschreibung," in course of publication since 1754.

³The edition of C. G. Schüts, 3 volumes, Halle, 1782-97.

⁴Gottfried Less. Probably his "Handbuch der christlichen Religions-theorie für Aufgeklärter, oder Versuch einer praktischen Dogmatik." 3^oAusg. Göttingen, 1789.

One of those free, but sober essays of reforming our
Dogmatic Theology

6. Döderlein's ditto, 4 volumes
7. Some Newspapers the best extant in Germany
8. Maps of several Countries in Europe which are reckoned to be pretty exact.

Some other new Books, Maps will be sent by the next opportunity.

You will have received what I had the honor to send you June 5th. by the kind care of Mr. Williams viz. several volumes of the Litterary Gazette of Gotha. Nösselt's Theological Library and german Newspapers.

No part of Adelung has appeared since the second which You have received I hope. I am sorry that the parcell of May last year did not reach You. I shall endeavour to find out what it contained and to send the same books once more. Krohn's Catalogue⁴ was among them.

I am so much in hurry that I cannot write to Dr. Belknap to day to thank him for his second Edition of the Forresters he kindly sent me; nor to Dr. Morse who sent me his new Edition which I allready had received from a Friend in Philadelphia, where I have a very good correspondent.

If you could tell me what Branch of Litterature Dr. Belknap loves most I could send him some of our best latin productions of that kind. I owe so very much to this worthy man, that I must endeavour to show at least my gratitude.

If you see or write to these Gentlymen I hope you will not forget to present them my respects and thanks. I shall write them by the first Boston Ship.

My very much impaired health has been restored entirely, thank God, by the use of the hot Bath.

Excuse Dear Sir the hurry of this Letter kindly and expect soon a longer one from your

very much obliged and most
obedient servant

C. D. EBELING

⁴Bend. Nic. Krohn. Catalogus bibliothecae selectae. Hamburg, 1793. Referred to several times in later letters. (Cf. p. 336.)

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT, SECRETARY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AUGUST 24, 1797¹.

[The writer sends a continuation of the maps of America, one copy for the Historical Society and one for Dr. Morse, and promises soon to send his fourth volume (on Pennsylvania), also a number of his *American Magazine* in which will be found "an Essay of Life and Character of Baron Steuben which is chiefly compiled from german family accounts and from relations of his Friends in the Prussian Army and at Stutgard."

Regrets that his parcel of May 2 failed to reach Boston having been addressed to Mr. Müller who had probably already departed from that city. It contained a German Life of Vespucci, the first part of his *American Magazine*, the third volume of his *Geography*, maps of Russia, Poland, the West Indies, etc., besides other books and a parcel for Dr. Morse.

The rest of the letter is concerned with a learned work on the inscriptions of Persepolis, and another maintaining that many ancient ruins are the productions of Vulcans, not of men. The writer rejoices in the prospect of peace in Europe, and hopes that the American quarrel with France will soon be over, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Talleyrand, having lived in America.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

FEBRUARY 13, 1798.

[Thanks for letter of Oct. 19, 1797.]

Of the New Hampshire laws¹ I have only the Collection of 1789. if you could procure me the newer ones of 1792 and 1797 I should be very glad, together with the Journals. Payment will be made by Mr. John Kähler in Boston or by Mr. Williams, the American consul in Hamburg.

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811.

²Of the New Hampshire Laws Ebeling had:

Perpetual laws, 1776-1789. Portsmouth, 1789.*

Laws. Portsmouth, 1792.* (On the fly-leaf of this copy some one had written "For the use of the General Court. Si quis furatur, per Collum pendatur." Ebeling added beneath these lines "Minime ex furto, sed E dono Reipublicae Hantonienais, procurante R. Doct. Belknap.")

Laws. Portsmouth, 1797.*

With this letter you will get Grotius's Book² you desired. It is difficult to be got, but now and then occasionally and I can miss it as it is in our public library. The newest volume [the fourth] of my Geography presents itself to your candid criticism. A long sickness which threatens to return every winter prevents me to go on quicker.

My Catalogue is not yet copied quite and I shall send it by the next occasion, when will be able to send some new Books. I am very much obliged to you for your very great Kindness in ordering the Laws as also Prouds and Turnballs Histories. Bertram, Pratz, Filson, Imlay, Hutchings I have.³

[Notes on the wars and on the revolution in Switzerland follow.]

The late Duke of Liancourt is here, and publishes his journey thro almost all the United States.⁴ I have read it. It is very large in 4 volumes besides a general View. He enters particularly into every subject of Agriculture, Commerce, Government, and seems to be very exact. Tho' he may be thought partial, especially against England he is not unjust

²His "Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis," Amat. 1658, must be meant. See the next letter.

³Robert Proud. "The history of Pennsylvania, 1681 till after 1742." 2 vol. Philadelphia, 1797-98.*

Benjamin Trumbull. Complete history of Connecticut from 1630 to 1764. 2 vol. Hartford, 1797.

William Bartram. Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, etc. Philadelphia, 1791.*

Le Page du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane, 3 vol. Paris, 1758.* Also the English translation: The history of Louisiana, 2 vol. London, 1763.*

John Filson. The discovery, settlement and present state of Kentucke. Wilmington, 1784;* also New York, 1793, 2 vols.*; also Histoire de Kentucke, traduit par M. Parraud. Paris, 1785.*

Gilbert Imlay. A topographical description of the Western Territory of North America. London, 1792*; also New York, 1793.*

Thomas Hutchins. A topographical description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina. London, 1778*. With Ebeling's autograph and a few notes.

⁴La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. Voyage dans les États-Unis d'Amérique, fait en 1795, 1796 et 1797. 6 vol. A Paris, l'an VII de la République [1798-9].* Inscribed "M. le P^r Ebeling de la part de l'auteur Liancourt." Ebeling has added a note: "Translated into english from the German version, Lond.

Writing to Dr. Belknap, the same day, (Mass. Hist. Soc. VI Coll. iv. 622) and speaking of the Duke of Liancourt's Travels, Ebeling says: "They are printing at Paris. I have read the manuscript almost entirely, and it will be translated into German under my eyes." The German edition in three volumes bore the title—"Reisen in den Jahren 1795, etc. Aus der französischen Handschrift übersetzt. Hamburg, B. G. Hoffman, 1799."

against the American Nation whose Character he praises much. Nor seems he imbued by the present french prejudices against America. He writes as a Cosmopolite. With New England he is pleased the most. Less with the southern States generally taken.

TO DR. BENTLEY

APRIL 28, 1798.

Nr. 2, 1798. [Acknowledges receipt of Bentley's letters of June 7 and Oct. 2, 1797, rejoices that the books he has sent arrived safely, and hopes soon to send more.]

Books are published in terrible quantity, but good ones not so many, and I must warn you not to give implicit belief to our Reviewers, they are very often partial either to the authors or to the booksellers, and often bribed by both, if only it were by a *manus manum lavat*. Our annual fair at Leipsic has now begun. As soon as it is over and the new books arrived I shall see if any thing may be worthy your attention.

The choice of your Books you have sent me is entirely agreeing with my wishes. I am just now making up a Catalogue of my American library and will send it per next. What I particularly wish for is *Prince's American or New England Chronology*.¹ If occasionally it offers itself you will oblige me by purchasing it.

[He refers to "Grotius's *Annalibus Belgii*," which accompanied the last letter, and now desires the *Laws of Virginia*.²

¹Thomas Prince. A chronological history of New-England in the form of Annals. Vol. I. Boston, 1736; Annals of New-England. Vol. II. (1755).* Autograph of John Eliot on the title-page.

²Of the Virginia Laws Ebeling's library had the following:
Acts of Assembly from the year 1662. London, 1728 (perhaps altered from 1720 or 1722).* Known as Beverley's Abridgment.
Acts of Assembly now in force. Williamsburg, 1752.* With bookplate of I. Hutchinson.
Acts of Assembly now in force. Williamsburg, 1769.*
Collection of public acts, etc. since 1768. Richmond, 1785.*

Collection of all such acts . . . as now are in force. Richmond, 1794.* Autograph of George Tucker, 1797, on title-page. Laid in is an autograph letter [to Dr. Bentley (?)] signed S. G. Tucker, dated June 4, 1798, in which he speaks of an Abridgment then in press which would cost three dollars instead of ten. "I hesitated whether I should wait and send it, in preference to the folio; but adverting to your Letter I was apprehensive that any delay might render the acquisition of little or no value to professor Ebeling, and therefore concluded to forward the latter immediately."

Among the Ebeling books the Harvard Library has also a manuscript letter of 15 quarto pages, written by St. George Tucker to Bentley and dated Williamsburg, June 30,

besides those of New Hampshire and hopes Judge Tucker may have sent them.]

I am at a loss how to express my thanks for your kindness in procuring me the very excellent Letter of that Gentleman. I have taken the liberty to write him these days, and in order to save you anew trouble I required him to sent the Laws (if not yet sent to you) to my commissioner in Philadelphia who will pay him the price, which is not too dear.

You are so very kind for me, Dear Sir, that I am ashamed and should wish to be more usefull to you here. I shall be attentive to procure you the best of our new Maps. The continuation of Adelung is not yet out. An historical Library is publishing now, but it will be an eternal work, allready 20 volumes containing only the Books concerning ancient history, and the modern of Asia, Africa and America, together with those of Spain, Portugal, and France (the latter not yet finished and notwithstanding allready completing 4 volumes large Octavo.) The author is professor Meusel³ at Erlang, The Book is exceedingly well done (tho incomplete as all such Works) but it must swell up to 60 volumes, and cost as many dollars perhaps. That is rather too much, tho' the Author is not over prolixious; but one fault he has viz. he mentions also books of no value, in order to warn purchasers. Not mentioning them would amount allmost to a warning. A general Catalogue of German Books⁴ pretty well arranged is now printed here. I have ordered it for you, and hope it will be brought before I must close this letter, otherwise I shall send it soon. Mr Freemans

1797. He speaks first of the copy of the Virginia Laws of 1792, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights which he has sent to be forwarded to Ebeling, and goes on to give a general synopsis of the Virginia Constitution and body of laws and of some of the recent acts of the legislature. He closes with "good wishes for the success of professor Ebeling's Labours, which you so warmly undertake to aid him in." See Ebeling's letter of Sept. 7, 1799, p. 339.

³Johann Georg Meusel, 1743-1820, Professor at Erfurt and afterwards at Erlangen, editor of many biographical and bibliographical dictionaries and historical periodicals. He re-edited the Latin Bibliotheca historica of Struve and Buder, "ita digesta, amplificata et emendata ut paene novum opus videri possit," as the title-pages read. Only eleven volumes, each in two parts, were issued from 1782 to 1804, so that Ebeling's apprehensions as to the extent of the work were not verified.

⁴This must be Hinrichs' Halbjahrs-Katalog, which began in 1798 under the title "Verzeichniss neuer Bücher die seit Michaelis 1797 bis Juli 1798 wirklich erschienen sind."

Strictures⁵ I have, and I should wish he could read my Book as I should not fear so judicious a critic if even so severe as he seems to the Author. The same [Jedidiah Morse] has sent me his *Gazeteer*⁶ which I had not yet time to compare with Scotts,⁷ whose Book is really usefull, with all imperfections of geographical original imbecillity, which we never shall be able to get rid of.

All those Maps and Books you mention in your letter of Oct. 2 I have, viz.,—Barre's, Holland's, Hazard's⁸, as also Hutchinson⁹ and the other Histories and Topographies.

Nothing could more afflict me than what I hear about the worthy Dr Belknap. I write to him¹⁰ in answer of a letter I received in the same Box with your two letters. He mentioned the same to me, tho' not intimating that it was so serious. I hope to God this worthy man will have the fate of my late dear Father who was also attacked by a paralysis but, as heavy it was, recovered entirely after half a year and lived very long to old age, when a relapse put an end to his life. American History would loose much by his premature death.

If You have moments of leisure I wish to see the continuation of your remarks, whereby you obliged me very much.

I take the liberty to send you the continuation of the Gotha newspaper, as also the newest political ones.

[He closes his letter with remarks on recent events in Europe and in praise of the King of Prussia.]

TO DR. BELKNAP

APRIL 28, 1798.

Printed in the Belknap Papers, vol. III. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV. 620-627.)

⁵Probably Rev. James Freeman's Remarks on the American Universal Geography, Boston, 1793.

⁶See the note on p. 290

⁷Joseph Scott. The United States gazeteer. Philadelphia, 1795.*

⁸Apparently Des Barres' Atlantic Neptune, London, 1777-81*; Samuel Holland's Charts of the coasts and harbours of New England, 1781*; and Ebenezer Hazard's Historical collections, Philadelphia, 1792-94, 2 vols.* are meant.

⁹Thomas Hutchinson. The history of the colony of Massachusetts's Bay. 2d ed. London, 1765-68. 2 vols.*

¹⁰Ebeling's letter is printed in the Belknap Papers, Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IV. 620-627.

Synopsis. A long and highly interesting letter. Sympathizes with Belknap's ill health. Compliments his Forresters and expresses admiration for the Collections of the Historical Society. Dwells on the wealth of German books relating to geography which Dr. Morse might profit by if he would only learn German. Turning to European affairs, he describes at some length the exciting events in Vienna and in Switzerland, and, as in other letters, praises the young King and Queen of Prussia.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPTEMBER 15, 1798¹

Nr 3, 1798.

REVEREND SIR

I take the liberty to send you the last maps published for my Geography (2), as also the two last parts of my American magazine (3) Ziegler's History of the Constitution of the Christian Church in the first six Centuries (4) Learned Newspapers of Gotha (5) political ones to this date.

[He remarks upon the favorable turn in European political conditions and on Napoleon's presence in Egypt.]

Just now I read in the Newspapers the sad news of the death of our dear beloved Dr. Belknap.² He was my Friend too. *Have pia anima!* My last letter of May 7th³ did not reach him I fear, as the Ship went later. Under the same date I had the honour to write you and sent Gotha and political newspapers which I hope you have received. Accept my sincere and gratefull assurances of esteem wherwith I am, R^d Sir

Your most obed^t Servant.

C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT. 16, 1798.

Nr. 4, 1798. [Refers to his letter of the previous day inclosed to Mr. Kähler with a parcel of books, and to another parcel under date of May 7.]

¹A note on the back shows that this letter reached Boston, November 27, 1798.

²Belknap died June 20, 1798.

³Dated April 28. See p. 304.

I long for the publication of my general Introduction where I shall make gratefull mention of the generous promotors of my undertaking, and you will find your name at the head of them. You will be pleased to continue occasionally and if it can be done without trouble the newspapers which are to great use for me.

It was with great anxiety I read the account of the worthy Dr. Belknap's health. His own letter announced me it. Now I see that he went to a happier state of blessing. I regret sincerely the loss of a man whose excellent character, remote as I am, I must admire and re [] thankfully and who was certainly much more to his nearer friends. He died, alas, too early for your literature and history. I hoped he would give us such an excellent history and description of Massachusetts as he did of New Hampshire. My last letter did not reach the worthy friend. I had inclosed in a chest to Mr. Kähler a Parcel for late Dr Belknap containing some Books for him and the historical Society. Those for the last were Recueil of Missionaries 4 volumes. Hennepin's Journey to Canada. Pastorius on Pensylvania. Blome, Colonies angloises. Histoire de la Jamaïque 2 volumes,¹ the 4th part of my Book, together with Copies of Maps of New Jersey and Maryland for the Society and for Dr Morse. (By my memoirs I see I had forgot to add a Copy for you, which now follow. That of Maine and New York are engraving.)

You would oblige me if occasion offers, to let the present Secretary² of the Historical Society (whom I have not the honour to know but suppose it is the celebrated Mr Minot) know this. Mr. Kähler³ will have delivered the parcel to the

¹Of the books mentioned, the Mass. Hist. Soc. still has two: Fr. Dan. Pastorius, "Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provints Pennsylvania, Franckfurt, 1700," and [Charles Leslie], "Histoire de la Jamaïque, à Londres, 1751," 2 vols. Ebeling himself had a copy of Pastorius, edition of Memmingen, 1792*, also Leslie's Jamaica*, Richard Blome, "Description des isles et terres que l'Angleterre possède en Amérique, traduit de l'anglois, Amsterdam, 1715*." Hennepin's Journey was probably his "Voyages curieux et nouveaux, Amsterdam, 1711*."

²Belknap, who had been Corresponding Secretary of the Society from 1791 to 1798, was succeeded by the Rev. John Eliot, 1798-1813.

³In the files of the Corresponding Secretary's letters in the Mass. Hist. Soc. is a letter from Kähler dated December, 1798 giving an extract from Ebeling's letter of September 15 and accompanying the parcel for the Society. He writes that Professor Ebeling had ordered a copy of the Temporary Laws of Massachusetts, 1736 to 1774, and asks Dr. Eliot's assistance in procuring them. The copy which he finally received was the edition printed in 1763, continued by successive additions to 1766*.

heirs. As I don't know whether our late friend was married, it could perhaps be sent to distant parts and be miscarried. I have written also to Mr. Kähler thereabout.

[The rest of the letter relates to European politics.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

MARCH 13, 1799.

REVEREND SIR

The very ambiguous state of my health will excuse me with you that this letter is not longer [*marginal note.* Not sent by the first occasion it became longer than intended by interrupted continuations.] and that I must refer to the other which I wrote the last week and sent with a Box by way of Boston directed to Mr. Kähler. Mr. Broomfield from Boston sailing tomorrow for Salem I have given him a Box containing¹:

1. Basedow's Dogmatical Abridgment.
2. His Methode d'étudier.
3. Michaelis, Translation of the new Testament. 2 volumes.

1.) Probably his "Elementarbuch; ein Vorrath der besten Erkenntniſſe zum Lernen, Lehren, Wiederholen und Nachdenken" of which an edition in three volumes was printed in Leipzig in 1785. This and his Methodenbuch have been re-edited and reprinted as lately as 1909. His *Leben und Werke* make a volume of the series "Die pädagogischen Klassiker," bd. xxix, 1920. See p. 322 for an account of Basedow.

2.) His "Nouvelle méthode d'éducation," Leipzig, 1772.

6.) Georg Joachim Zollikofer. *Predigten über die Würde des Menschen und den Werth der vornehmsten Dinge die zur menschlichen Glückseligkeit gehören.* Leipzig, 1782, 2 vol. A translation, "Sermons on the dignity of man, by W. Tooke" was printed in London in 1807 and the "1st American edition" in Worcester the same year.

7.) Jacob Brucker. *Bildersaal heutiges Tages lebender und durch Gelahrheit berühmter Schriftsteller.* The 10th edition was printed in Augsburg in 1741-55, 2 vols. folio, with large and excellent mezzotint portraits engraved by J. J. Haid from paintings by the same artist.

8.) *Blikke in das nächst zukünftige Europa.* [Hamburg,] 1798.** An edition of the French original, "Nouveau tableau spéculatif de l'Europe" was also published at Hamburg in 1798, and an English translation in Dublin.

9.) *Frankreich im Jahr 1799.* Aus den Briefen Deutscher Männer in Paris. Altona, 1799. 3 vols. issued in 12 parts.** Three volumes more followed for 1800.**

10.) Aristophanes. *Comœdiæ emendatæ a Phil. Invernasio.* Lipsiæ, 1794-1826. 13 vols. The first two volumes contained the text, the other eleven, commentaries, scholia, Latin translation, etc. Vols. 1 and 2 passed from Bentley to Alleghany College.

11.) Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow (or Rochau) had been an Officer in the Seven Years' War and being incapacitated for further service devoted himself to his estates in Brandenburg and brought about great improvements in the "Volksschulen." The book referred to is his "Versuch eines Schulbuchs für Kinder der Landleute oder Unterricht für Lehrer in niedern und Landschulen," Berlin, 1776.** See Thomas Alexander. *The Prussian elementary schools.* New York, 1918. pp. 20-22.

12.) Joh. Georg Meusel. *Lehrbuch der Statistik.* Leipzig, 1792.**

4. Another new much esteemed translation by Mr. Stolz, a Clergyman in Bremen.
5. His essay of an Explication of the N. T. (discontinued because he was attacked on account thereof by one of his colleagues who is a Lavaterian orthodox.
6. Zollikofer's Sermons (two volumes) on the Dignity of Man, which we think the masterpiece of this excellent Clergyman, and one of the best of men and Christians I ever knew.
7. Brucker's Bildersaal, a collection of prints of learned men, with a few detached portraits. I shall do my best to get good portraits of Luther and Melancthon, etc. Klopstock's portrait is very like.
8. Dumouriez, Blicke. A new gloomy work of this Exgeneral who wishes for a general war against France—and a place as general.
9. Frankreich, a new political magazine written with good impartiality. I shall allways send the continuation.
10. Aristophanes, a new Edition which is esteemed.
11. Rochow's Schulbuch, an excellent work of a nobleman at Berlin who has given on his estates a practical model of a popular School which is thought excellent in Theory and practice and now spreading fast in the Prussian and in the Danish country where a friend of mine Count Reventlow (a brother of the minister) and a near relation to Bernstorff has established such schools and a *Seminary for Schools*.
12. Meusels Statistick one of the most extensive statistical books and of the newest.

Besides newspapers and what I have of the Gotha and Erfurt of this year, The new Gazette of Hamburg² I send with this letter and shall continue them regularly. The litterary part is

²Kaiserlich-privilegirte Hamburgische neue Zeitung, 1797-1799, 1802-11.** The Gothaische gelehrte Zeitungen is mentioned on p. 296. The Erfurt paper bore the title, "Nachrichten von gelehrten Sachen, herausgegeben von der Akademie nütz. Wissenschaften zu Erfurt," 1797-1803.** [See also p. 373.] The other political newspapers which Ebeling about this time and later was sending to his friend seem to have been the following:

Bamberger Zeitung, 1798-1800.**

Bayreuther Zeitung, 1798-1800.**

Königl. privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung, 1796-1810.**

Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats und gelehrten Sachen, 1796-1806.**

Leipsiger Zeitungen, 1797-1807.**

Also a few others belonging to later years.

written by myself. The political part of the Gazette does not allow to extend it, and we must avoid to enter into disquisitions and free uttering of our sentiments upon political affairs, also the ministers of foreign powers are at hand with complaints, forbiddings, etc. [*Marginal note.* The Gotha paper was discontinued for a time as it had offended a certain count, by whose post it comes to us, who refused to forward it. We thought it was given up entirely.]

Another box is almost ready and will be sent by the very next Boston ship sailing in a few days. It contains some books of Jerusalem a worthy divine at Bronsvic [Brunswick]³ on Religion; Lives of learned men [by Schröck] with Images⁴ Krohns Catalogue with the author's mss. annotations; a Journal called Deutschland⁵ (discontinued) but written with freedom tho' not always with prudence. Michaelis Dogmatica in Latin⁶, Eichhorn⁷ on Michaelis, Nicolais Nothanker,⁸ Herders Sheets⁹ (wherein is an account of *Lessing*), Rechte des Volks zu einer Revolution¹⁰ (not revolutionary). Michaelis paraphrase on the Epistles of Paul, and several new maps especially one of *New Europe*, as also mine on America whereof I shall send the continuation regularly. Nicolai on Tempelherren and Freymaurer,¹¹ and what I can get besides those on the Illuminati and Masons, which I have sent in the parcel to Mr. Kähler [*Marginal note.* A mistake. It is sent by Mr. Pitcairn our consul who offered to send you what I had.] I hoped Capt. Williams would return to Salem, but am

³Joh. Friedrich Wilhelm Jerusalem, of Brunswick. Alleghany College has his "Recueil de six discours prononcés en Allemand," Leipsic, 1748—Bentley's copy received from Ebeling.

⁴Joh. Matthias Schröckh. Abbildungen und Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrten. Leipsig, 1765-69. 3 vols.

⁵Deutschland. 1^{tes}-11^{tes} Stück. Berlin, 1796.**

⁶Joh. David Michaelis, 1717-1791. Compendium theologiae dogmaticae. Göttingen, 1760.

⁷Joh. Gottfried Eichhorn, 1752-1827.

⁸Friedrich Nicolai, 1733-1811. Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebalduß Nothanker. 2^{te} Aufl. Berlin, 1774-76. 3 vols.** With engravings by Chodowiecki. With Ebeling's autograph in each vol.

**See p. 324.

¹¹Joh. Benjamin Erhard. Über das Recht des Volks zu einer Revolution. Jena and Leipsig, 1795.**

¹²Versuch über die Beschuldigungen, welche dem Tempelherrenorden gemacht worden, und über dessen Geheimnis, nebst einem Anhang über das Entstehen der Freimaurergesellschaft. Berlin, 1782-83. 2 vols.

disappointed, therefore I made up in haste the *parcel* for Boston last week as a ship was announced to sail as soon the Elbe was open, which happened a few days ago.

Now permit me Dear Sir in case that this letter should come earlier to repeat you my very great thanks for your new proofs of kindness. Capt. Williams tho' frozen in was so kind as to send me them in the beginning of this last winter. You cannot think how much I am obliged to you for the many valuable materials, for your annotations and for your remarks on my book. I am sorry that my health (rhumatical weakness of stomach continual diarrhoeas which lately were almost a dysentery) does not allow me to sit long time, otherwise I would repeat more amply what I wrote about Robinson's ridiculous Book.¹² I am neither Mason nor Illuminat, nor in any order whatsoever but a Cosmopolite. Since my earliest year I have known a great many Masons, some of them my intimate friends, I have known many Illuminati and having lived 7 years at the Universities of Göttingen and Leipsic have had occasion and since 26 years here in Hamburg, (a place resorted to from all Europe) to be acquainted with many *thousands* of men belonging to several such orders or to the orthodox and heterodox religious sects and to political sects of the same predicaments. So I am well acquainted and think myself impartial,

¹²John Robison. *Proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe* carried on in the secret meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies. The book made a great sensation at the time of its publication and was several times reprinted. The Harvard Library has several editions: the First, Edinburgh, 1797; Third ed. London, 1798; Philadelphia, 1798; Fourth ed. Dublin, 1798; New-York, 1798. The edition which Ebeling had was that of Philadelphia, 1798.

Vernon Stauffer, *New England and the Bavarian Illuminati* (Columbia Studies in history, economics and public law, vol. 82, no. 1), 1918, gives a good account of Robison and his book (pp. 199-214) and of the excitement in New England, beginning with Jedidiah Morse's fast-day sermon May 9, 1798, which was followed by David Tappan's Discourse at Harvard College, on June 19, and President Dwight's Fourth of July Discourse at New Haven. The discussion in the papers also became heated. (Stauffer, pp. 229 seq.)

A severe attack on Robison's book, not noticed, I believe, by Stauffer, was printed in Boston in 1799 under the title, "Extracts from Professor Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy, etc. with brief reflections on the charges he has exhibited, the evidence he has produced and the merit of his performance, Boston, printed by Manning & Loring," pp. 30.* This is signed Cornelius and dated Massachusetts, Dec. 1798. A note at the end reads "N.B. The name of the writer is left with the Printer, who will communicate the same to any person who may wish to be informed of it." A pencil note suggests that Dr. Bentley or Professor Ebeling may be the author. That the former may have been responsible for the pamphlet seems not unlikely. He had evidently been in correspondence with Ebeling on this subject before the date of this letter.

for I wish the happiness of mankind which only can be promoted by religion, virtue, liberty and good government. I am not orthodox in the common sense of the word, for I make use of my reason in believing, but I know that religion is an affair of the heart of each individual, and I find myself happy that the men whom I suppose the most benevolence of heart and the purest understanding pretty well agree with my ideas; and I have among my friends, besides many of orthodox dogmatical principles, such as think that practical religion is the head-point. This may plead on behalf of my impartiality.

Robison's book certainly is a party writing, not without design. I even believe he has political design. Hierarchy exerts its last power everywhere. With us and at Berlin, etc., it is destroyed not long; in France it is annihilated together with the roman religion; time is wanted to set a better religion in its place, but the Government will not do it, the people want to be cleared up where to find true religion. Robisons Book was written by a man who confesses to have but a quaint knowledge of the language, and his nation (tho' beginning to mend since a few years) has not a better one; without such knowledge none of our literature may be obtained. He contents himself with his favourite *Religionsbegebenheiten*¹³ a Book written at Giessen and of very little value, and in no estimation unless by those who think that servile adherence to ancient forms of doctrine make a divine. Robinsons knows a little of all and nothing exact. Therefore he judges ill especially of the characters of persons, of their literary merit, and the consequences of their endeavours to enlighten the nation. That amongst 30 millions and amongst 7000 authors who inundate Germany annually with books there are a great many foolish, fantastical, ignorant and even ill-designed ones, is no wonder. But to take alarm at it and to give a bad name to a country for it, is great ignorance of men and manners, and of history. The English national pride is greatly intermixing also. His book is pretty well calculated to overtake and ensnare artfully good natured men, not knowing Germany (as is the case with the most of the Britons.)

¹³Die neuesten Religionsbegebenheiten, mit unparteyischen Anmerkungen. Giessen u. Marburg, 1778-97 (monthly and quarterly). Edited by H. M. G. Köster.

First as to Masonry. I can only speak from observation. Since 1740-1760 it was much spoken of, was esteemed and in *fashion*, especially in the prussian country, and was then (as I am assured by several Grandmasters of the different Lodges at several places of Lower Germany as also here) in its purity. Never they were thought dangerous, but by some Clergymen—zealots. They were in general of no visible influence neither in political nor religious affairs, and in the last years of that period not much spoken of. Since that time there crept scissions into the order and they separated. This separation was already great when I studied at Leipsic. The class called the strict observance had them particularly. Some intended to engraft the order of the Templarians on the masonry. Mr. Stark¹⁴, (my fellow student at Göttingen) a man of an unruly character, intriguing, ambitious—and not to be trusted, went suddenly from Göttingen the day before when he was to be declared Master of Arts. Some time after he was at Paris (he had no money for himself) there he was said to have changed religion, he was employed at a public library (no protestant ever was) at Paris. At last he was found to excite dissensions amongst the Masons and to help introducing the Templerian sistem. This certainly is not dissimilar to many jesuistical forms. Several Masons were allarmed at it; amongst them *Nicolai* a very learned bookseller a man of taste, and a very sincere open man, very active to promote taste, learning, and philosophy, therefore an intimate friend with Lessing one of our greatest genius's, with the Jew Moses Mendelsohn a man of taste, and a fine philosophical writer, with *Ramler*,¹⁵ Gleim¹⁶ and many other poets, etc. etc. [*Marginal note.* Here I must insert something about Theology.] In the mean time in Halle, Göttingen and Berlin the study of Divinity was much amended. *Baumgarten*¹⁷ in Halle began (a good historian, knowing English very well,

¹⁴A careful and detailed account of Pastor Starck is given in Le Forestier, "Les illuminés de Bavière," 1914, p. 167 and *passim*. See also Jean Blum, "J. A. Starck et la querelle du crypto-catholicisme en Allemagne," 1785-1789. Paris, 1912.

¹⁵Karl Wilhelm Ramler, 1725-1798.

¹⁶Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, 1719-1803, author of "Preussische Kriegelieder in den Feldsügen 1756 and 1757, von einem Grenadier," Berlin, 1758.

¹⁷Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten, 1706-1757, professor of theology at Halle, one of the most distinguished of German theologians.

then very seldom, a Wolfian philosopher) the reform but timidly. Mosheim made light in the ecclesiastical history, but was timid. He also cleared up moral theology and even dogmatical in some way.

Michaelis really a great genius of much learning and acute discrimination and penetration, a thinking man, continued more with taste and in good stile both in latin and german. His exegetical merits you know. I have heard him 4 years. He was a man of free candid enquiry, did not speak quite his mind to everybody, but we had particular lessons with him, were [where] he did not at all hide his heterodoxy as it was called *then*. It was by no means detrimental to the Christian religion and the bible. You will see it by his *Dogmatica* I send you. Less,¹⁸ Heilmann¹⁹ and other Göttingen divines of note followed him, but *not so much* thinking for themselves. Less, a rigorous moralist, but a candid dogmatist (he died lately as counsellor of the ecclesiastical Court at Hanover) all worthy *men*. *Michaelis* character had some remarkable spots, he indulged too much to sarcastical wit, he was very interested and even covetous, etc. *Semler*²⁰ at Halle was Baumgarten's scholar and imitator in his horridly unelegant stile. But a great reformer in Church history, wherein he enquired very deeply. He was nearly an Unitarian. The liberty the divines enjoyed under Frederic II did not force him to conceal. At *Leipsic* ERNESTI²¹ the great philologist or scholar applied himself to Theology and gave the final stroke to the system that the Bible was to be interpreted in another way and by different rules (supposing a mystical sense besides the verbal) as good classic authors written for men and read by men. In the mean time the Berlin Clergy and others as also Jerusalem at Brunswick had entirely devoted their sermons to evangelic moral leaving all casuistical dogmatic enquiries to the learned, so did Less at Göttingen; so Zollicofer at Leipsic. They insisted upon that heavenly principle that

¹⁸Gottfried Less, 1736-1797. Ebeling sent Bentley a copy of his "Auferstehungsgeschichte Jesu nach allen vier Evangelisten." Göttingen, 1779.**

¹⁹Joh. David Heilmann, 1727-1764, a pupil and follower of Baumgarten, author of "Compendium theologiae dogmaticae," Göttingen, 1761.

²⁰Joh. Salomo Semler, 1725-1791.

²¹Joh. August Ernesti, 1707-1781.

true religion must be practical (Spener²² at Halle and Berlin had done the same in the last century with great success, tho' persecuted by many. He only fell *something* in the mystical way) Spalding²³ that worthy divine at Berlin wrote his book on the *feelings of a Christian*, and published his excellent sermons and others followed him. Teller²⁴ a pupil of Ernesti not so learned, but more penetrating and philosophical at Berlin etc. Now the controversy about symbolical books or confessional doctrine began. Many wished to get rid of those platforms of doctrine contained in the Lutheran confessional books which determine too much, prescribe too nice, not essential distinctions. Büsching and others wrote against these books, shewed that they were against the spirit of Luther's Reformation, who established the Bible as the sole *nova doctrina*. There was great noise about this. But the more sound principles prevailed, tho' not adopted openly as a Church-doctrine. When all this was in agitation Nicolai undertook his *Universal German Library*²⁵—a Review of about 150 volumes since 1764. More than 40 sometimes 60 of German literati in every kind of science at almost all places of note where German language prevails from Petersburg to Bern, from Ungary to Koppenhagen were Collaborators. His instruction for the Authors (none knew who they were but Nicolai, but they were at liberty to name themselves when they liked it) were very liberal. I hope to find out my copy, for I was interested for several years in the part of belles letters. None chuse the books he would review unless Nicolai had proposed them. Each was entirely at liberty to tell his opinion and not a line was ever changed by the Editor. Therefore the collection is full of contradictory opinions and principles. Nicolai knew that diversity of sentiment is unavoidable and promotes enquiry and science. His Library had great effect upon German literature. Before that we had only a few lib-

²²Philipp Jakob Spener, 1635-1705. His works have been repeatedly translated and republished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

²³Joh. Joachim Spalding, 1714-1804. *Gedanken über den Werth der Gefühle im Christenthum*, 1761.

²⁴Wilhelm Abraham Teller, 1734-1804, professor of theology at Helmstadt.

²⁵Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, Berlin, later Kiel, 1765-96. 118 vols; with *Anhangs* in 21 vols. See also pp. 361, 364, 386, etc.

eral and illiberal Reviews in the belles letters. The first also published by Nicolai, Mendelsohn and Lessing,²⁶ the others by one Klotz. [*Marginal note.* The Göttingen newspapers were always the best, the most learned, sober but not without freedom. They began under Haller's²⁷ direction, who wrote a great deal of them from 1750 about.] The universal library was much read everywhere even in Catholick Germany. The theological part at first was by *Resewitz* (now Abbot at Bergen near Magdeburg in Prussian country) and *Teller* principally, who were clear and keen-sighted men. All bad authors (we abound with them as with good ones) especially the great many insipid theological ones of the old schools hated this review and all hatred fell on Nicolai as few of his writers were known. The inveterate hatred of the orthodox and of the Scriblers attacked him on every occasion. When Frederic II died his successor soon was overruled by a mystical sort of state ministers (especially the despicable Wölner, formerly a preacher, then a Canon, then by degrees favourite) and some clergymen; and all religious liberty was greatly abridged. Nicolai was forced to give up, his Book forbidden to be read in the Prussian country as in some catholic ones. Nicolai at that time gave it to a bookseller here in Hamburg. Nicolai also had greatly excited the *Orationes* by his *Travels*²⁸ (10 volumes) wherein he detects abominable practices of cathol. clergy and monks, monstrous superstitions still prevailing; the clandestine endeavours of Jesuits to overturn protestantism, to introduce superstition everywhere and to obfuscate human mind. He gives the facts and a great many original proofs of secretly printed papers, etc. etc. His travels are very instructive in every kind but in

²⁶"Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste, Leipzig, 1757-65," 12 vols., conducted at first by Nicolai with the assistance of Moses Mendelsohn, Lessing and others, and later by Christian Felix Weisse. From 1759 to 1763 Nicolai published with the co-operation of the same scholars "Briefe die neueste Litteratur betreffend." Christian Adolf Klotz, 1738-1771, while professor at Göttingen and afterwards at Halle conducted three literary periodicals, *Acta litteraria*, 1764-72, *Neue Hallische gelehrte Zeitungen*, 1766-71, and *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, 1767-71. See further, p. 331.

²⁷The celebrated anatomist and botanist, Albrecht von Haller, who was a professor at the University of Göttingen, 1736-1753.

²⁸"Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781. Berlin 1783-96." 12 vols.

a verbose stile. About that time *Biester* and *Gedike*²⁹ (a lawyer and a scholar, both men of genius and taste, the first Librarian to the King of prussia, the second one in the ecclesiastical consistory who maintained himself even under the reigning usurpation of Wöllner on account of his great knowledge, dexterity and experience in school affairs, he is also Director of an Academy) began the Berlin Monthly Magazine (*Monatschrift*) and continued it for many years. A very good collection wherein many of our best writers had part. They particular devoted themselves to detect clandestin machinations of such as would introduce Catholicism, particularly the secret manoeuvres of the Jesuits who after Emperor Josephs death and before were very busy under hand. [*Marginal note.* This must not appear in print.] I knew it from the great Bernstorff's³⁰ own words, "There is but too much truth in saying that the Jesuits are manoeuvring clandestinely everywhere under many shapes." Both editors gave Facts as proof of what they advanced. The first I certainly know is a mason. He showed that the Jesuits had insinuated themselves into several french and german Lodges especially those of the strict observance. An opposition arose, even amongst the orthodox Germans. There appeared very unintelligible works as *Sur l'erreur et la vérité*.³¹ A Mason here, a very worthy man of great genius and excellent heart, *Mr. Claudius* who published 6 volumes of excellent poems and some prosaical treatises, all full of practical religion, somewhat mystical but not much, a true friend of Christianity and a model in simplicity of manners, gave a translation of this work. This was a mistake indeed, but a proof that Masons as such were not promoting irreligion. The author (I mean Claudius) a Dane has for his loyalty and merit a pension lately of the King of Danemarc, which he owed to Bernstorff and other ministers who know him since long. This same Claudius was

²⁹Joh. Erich Biester, 1749-1816, and Friedrich Gedike, 1754-1803, published the "Berlinische Monatschrift," 1783-1796; followed by "Berlinische Blätter," 1797-1798, and "Neue Berlinische Monatschrift." 1799-1811.

³⁰Andreas Peter, Count von Bernstorff, 1735-1797, Danish minister of foreign affairs from 1773 to 1780 and from 1784 till his death.

³¹Louis Claude, marquis de Saint-Martin, 1743-1803. *Des erreurs et de la vérité, ou Les hommes rappelés au principe universel de la science.* Édimbourg, 1782. Translated by Matthias Claudius under the title "Irrthümer und Wahrheit."

long time in the same house with *Boden*³² also a man of great parts, the excellent translator of *Sterne*, of *Montaigne*, of *Rabelais*, etc. lived formerly here as bookseller, was very rich by marriage, but prevailed upon his wife to make *no* testament in his favour and was poor again as she died. Then he went to *Weimar*. He was a zealous Mason, and very distressed by the foreign influence of unknown superiours who had crept into *Masonry*, and which he feared were full of mischief. A man of great integrity he exerted him at a convention of *Masons* at *Embser Bath*³³ (if I am not mistaken it was there), went to *Paris* in order to investigate all, and openly said what was become wrong in *Masonry*. As he was caustic and witty, that increased his antagonists. This very man the foolish *Robison* accuses of intriguing, who opposed so earnestly to it.

My *confuse letter* (I write in the beginning of a fever) comes now to the *Illuminati*³⁴. In order to appreciate their value one must know the pittifull state of religion, of learning, of political existence of the people in *Bavaria* (the same as in the *Austrian dominions* before *Joseph II* and as it is now there again). In the year 1760 about all was *egyptian darkness* there, all under *jesuitical Hierarchy* or rather *tyranny* and *intolerance*. The most execrable superstition oppressed the good natured people. No industry, scarce sufficient agriculture in an excellent land, no knowledge (the *German stile* even detestable in their books of nonsense) no energy in a populous country. Some few who had travelled, some few who read, and even the *Nicolai Library* diffused here and there better principles. One *Zaupser* wrote an *Ode on Tolerance* full of genius and was persecuted. So afterwards some other who dared to say truth. About 1776 the *Illuminati* were instituted by *Weishaupt*.³⁵ The scope was undoubtedly to destroy oppression political and religious, to introduce freedom. I will

³²Joh. Joachim Christoph Bode, 1730-1793, an enthusiastic apostle of freemasonry in its best and most ideal form and a friend in Hamburg of *Alberti*, *Basedow*, *Klopstock* and *Lessing*. See also p. 330.

³³Perhaps *Willemsbad* is meant. See *Robison's Proofs*, p. 288.

³⁴For the best recent account of the *Illuminati* with details in regard to many of the men mentioned by *Ebeling*, see *R. Le Forestier, Les Illuminés de Bavière et la Franc-Maçonnerie allemande, Paris, 1914.*

³⁵*Adam Weishaupt, 1748-1798, founder of the Order of the Illuminati. See Le Forestier passim.*

not pretend that Weishaupt was *then* a moral man, he has publicly confessed great deviations of morality. But I am not convinced that he was an enemy to *good* government and in theory and practice an *enemy* of religion; but I suppose he was, as commonly Roman Catholics who see the falsity of Superstition and know not much of *true* protestant principles of religion, at a loss what to substitute. Perhaps he as great many do was only busy to overturn what certainly was very wrong in *their* Religion without properly considering what ought to become of the people deprived of religion. In the ardor of hatred against evil many wish and labour to extirpate it, and leave the restauration of good to others or to itself. But it seems true that the *Order* I mean the superiors of the Illuminati wanted to govern. There were many admitted to that order without knowing its proper scope: search for Truth, for Liberty was their symbol. More the leaders did not tell them. *Knigge*³⁶ an Hanoverian Baron, who despised nobility which in that country is particularly adhering to its feudal prerogatives often in a very ridiculous way (tho' now many of them think better, or pretend so). He was friend of Liberty, no friend of Kings, as most of them were, no friend of continual wars, but loved peace, free exercise of every religion but entirely separated from the state, but his religion was I am sure nothing but pure natural religion, which must be tolerated before all other sects. As to his morals I cannot praise them in one point (he kept a mistress) in every other I may. A proof of his good behaviour is that his powerfull enemies could not bring anything against him, in order to depose him from his place. You may suppose that all these men took great part in the American revolution, and were busy in spreading the almost new notions of liberty, rights of men, etc. Nicolai was not very loud, as they had pretty much liberty in the last years of Freder. II (except in trade, and military affairs) and as Nicolai allways was an admirer nay an *adorer* of his great King, as all his writings shew. Frederic in his works had advanced very liberal sentiments about the rights of kings and subjects, the liberty of the press (except in political matters)

³⁶Adolf, Freiherr von Knigge, 1752-1796. See Le Forestier, pp. 202-226 and following chapters; also Stauffer, p. 162.

was not restricted. All this made him content and silent. Those in more oppressed states were more forward. When the French revolution broke out, many of the Illuminati were certainly busy in propagating the new French opinions. Everybody who thought liberally applauded the French revolution, *untill* the imprisonment of the King etc. I wont deny that many Illuminati wished for a similar revolution in their country, but many had reason, for they were living in a manifold slavery. As the causes of such slavery are too deeply interwoven in the feudal constitution of allmost all our states, and public opinion has opened its eyes and seen the delusion—it cannot, I fear, be avoided but by great wisdom of government, that a convulsion must ensue. The King of Prussia [Frederic William III] is more in the right way to prevent it, than perhaps any government. His predecessor was not so. But his subjects were quiet. Nicolai allmost retired to his studies and mercantile business.—I have forgott Barth.³⁷ As to him Robinson is not very erroneous. I knew him when at Leipzig. His father was a rank orthodox Lutheran, but afterwards a little suspected of hipocrisy. His son a young man of lively spirit, of manifold but superficial learning, thinking for himself—but soon entirely spoilt by profligate society. After having been Huzard for a time, his Father knew how to procure him a professorship of philosophy and a place of curate or chaplan (not ordained). Then he lived not more abstinently. He had given a letter of exchange to a common bawd for long services; this he endeavoured to extricate from her by fraud and refused payment, she went to the judge. The Father knew to contrive that his son was at least allowed to continue as professor. But he did not stay long at Leipsic.

³⁷Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, 1741–1792. See Le Forestier, pp. 624–631; Stauffer, p. 190. His translation of the New Testament seems to have been published under the title, "Die neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes in Briefen und Erzählungen," Riga, 1772–75 (4 vol.). A second edition appeared at Frankenthal, 1777. The third edition bore the title, "Das Neue Testament, oder die neuesten Belehrungen Gottes durch Jesum und seine Apostel," Berlin, 1793. 2 vols.

A large number of other works, covering a wide range, are noted in the bibliography appended to his "Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Meinungen und Schicksale," Frankfurt am Mayn, 1790–91, IV. 288–297. Among these Ebeling mentions: "Versuch eines biblischen Systems der Dogmatik," Gotha, 1769–70, 2 vols.; "System der Moral-Theologie," Erfurt, 1768; "Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt auctiora et emendatiora, cum notis," Erfurt, 1769, 2 vols. (founded on Montfaucon's edition).

He went to Switzerland etc. etc. Began to write much, not against religion but against the confessional religion of protestants. He declared to be of the Christian religion. He gave a new translation of the New Testament, very good in many parts, and very bad, even ridicule in others, for he endeavoured to modernize the language, and made speak the Apostles and Evangelists as if the[y] were beaux esprits. He wrote a Dogmatic etc. His *Moral* is certainly his best book (he knew vice by experience and could show its deformity) But in distress, persecuted everywhere, not restrained only he grew desolate and the end of his life was pitifull and miserable. [*Marginal note.* The behaviour of the Council of the Empire against him in 1779 was shocking. He was ordered to be deposed from all his charges in Durkheim, to revoke or else to be driven out of the whole empire. His revocation was prescribed, he should confess that he never *meant to doubt* of the Holy Trinity and Christ's divinity. He flew to Halle where he was tolerated a while. His imprisonment for 30 weeks on account of his satire against the *Religious Edict* was really cruel, in a dungeon etc.] He has published Origenes Hexapla 2 vols. octavo. His *Union*³⁸ was nothing but a trick to get dollars. No man of sense in whole Germany considered it ever in any other light. It had not the least consequence, and I suppose he got very little money thereby. It was too stupid a plan, especially as he had circulated under hand a list of the members of his orders, which was quite false and many of the best men, even clergymen were amongst them, who never knew any thing of this absurd order.

The Lesegesellschaften accused by Robinson are nothing but circulating Libraries for Gentlemen and Ladies since some years spreading very fast over all Germany as love of lecture [reading] becomes general. Unhappily the directors are too often ignorant Booksellers or such. Novels, poetry, comedies all such works à la mode especially the newest are eagerly read, politics even also amongst them in many such societies. Better ones were for philosophical historical books etc. The learned

³⁸The Deutsche Union, a short-lived society organized by Bahrdt and recruited from former members of the Illuminati. Described at great length by Robinson in his third chapter.

had their own, physicians amongst themselves, Clergymen especially in the country, often under the inspection of their Superintendents (our Bishops) All according to their taste or principles. No plan of revolution etc. could enter thereinto. Now and then a revolutionary Director, a hot-brained exalterd Jacobin may have such a Library under his care and abuse of those who read unaware; that may be. In the roman catholic parts where they have still large Catalogi librorum prohibitorum, where even the works of Frederic II at his life time were forbidden, such societies were naturally offensive and obnoxious; and much restrained by the polices.

In general Robinson is despicably false when he represents Germans as *irreligious*. Hunderts of excellent Books publishing annually for true Christianity, the esteem wherein liberal clergymen are held everywhere by good people (the others *never* loved them) the general adherence to public service (large towns as Berlin etc. not very much Hamburg are divided in this point) the religious instruction in every school, the care of all governments for amending schoolbooks, catechisms (at Berlin by Dietrichs, at Hannover by Kopp, we are much behind in Hamburg) the care to make the liturgy more effectfull now very conspicuous in Danemarc, Prussia, Hanover, the *new* Institution of Seminaries for country school masters in Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, Danemarc all shew the contrary. But if R thinks that general tolerance, that reducing the Christian religion as it is, that [of] the people particularly, to the moral of Christ, that a sort of *political* indifference about the dogmatic part of religious instruction which is *somewhat* more left to the own judgment of the Clergy; if he think, that a better study of ecclesiastical history, a better exegesis and more learning and even taste in explaining the scripture—and above all if he thinks that a general opposition against Hierarchy or even against Papism which really threatened to overrule us by stealth—if he thinks that the detection of Jesuitical arts is Irreligion—thank heaven, we are and I hope we shall be irreligious, but with all *such* irreligion we shall be the better men and Christians, adoring God in practical truth and spirit and leaving the determination of theoretical dogmas to a happier future state.

[A consideration of the current tendencies in Europe follows.]

I have forgot to add something which is a proof against Robison. The King of Prussia has lately permitted *Nicolai* to be chosen amongst the members of the royal academy of Sciences, which is considered as very honorable. *Weishaupt* has lived since many years at Gotha under the patronage of the Duke of Gotha and in *all this time* lived unreproachably. Both princes are amongst our best. Would they encourage men of such dangerous characters and principles as Robison paints them?

What concerns *Basedow*³⁹ is very absurd in Robison. B was not a very learned man, but a man of Genius, penetrating and glowing to deserve well and to be usefull to his nation. We owe much to him. He was the son of a Hambro hairdresser and shewed early great talents, but not for school sciences but for philosophy. He was promoted to a professorship at Sorol in Danemark then at Altona. Wrote early on a better method to learn languages and sciences. His practical philosophy for people of every condition published first 1758, was received well by all and printed a new 1777. He wrote very eloquently. In the year 1764 he began his theological career, separating those christian dogmas which are for general use and edifying from speculative enquiries of the learned or even scholastical determinations. Being contradicted by some, especially Hambro' clergymen, he wrote far more, all in a very plain honest and plausible stile; as also much upon natural religion. Bernstorf protected him against some of the danish clergy; many and certainly the most learned and pious were on his side. His essay on the Truth of Christian religion as the best of all religions (1766) proves that he was not an unbeliever as descried by some. He urged amendments of liturgy and published a book of Psalms for Christians of *every* denomination amongst them also many of his own heartfelt poetry. In 1768 he began his plan to reform schools, viz. to teach languages not as such but as vehicles of learning and as logical exercises of the understanding. So he would reduce all learning and school instruction to usefull knowledge. He began his Elementary work, (much not so new as he thought) but very practicable in general.

³⁹See p. 307.

He wrote exceedingly much, almost without having read much. Begun a *philanthropical Academy* at Dessau with the Prince's (one of our worthiest princes) aid and protection. This was a school without theological instructions, leaving them to the Clergy. This offended many and it was unhappily uncommon. Only natural religion was thought [i. e. taught], and all sciences, corporal exercises etc. It had great success tho' he was the first who allowed Jews to send their sons (we do so since 10 years also.) He was too despotical a director of his School and his younger teachers did not agree with him and went further as [i. e. than] he would. Many other things made him weary of his inst[it]ution old age came on too; he quarrelled with one of his Fellow-teachers about the payment of his assistance in publishing his elementary book. He was growing passionate and angry—and gave up all, with very great loss of money; and died in a somewhat distracted state of mind, occasioned by frequent drinking of spirit. He was a zealous promoter of religion virtue and morality, but often whimsical and mostly an autodidactos. He was himself a moral man.

In general you will find that Robison accuses all men of talents who assert the use of reason in theological matters, and who oppose implicit creed of church-doctrines unknown to the first centuries of Christianity, unknown to the New Testament.

Now some annotations⁴⁰. Why R knew so many anecdotes we never heard of in Germany I cannot say; but the English have their spies everywhere, and spies must invent something in order to shew their ability and zeal.

p. 84 [109]. The Duke of Gotha of a *romantic turn!* If great love of science, great knowledge of astronomy, great humanity, love of justice, with a fondness for aristocracy usual in princes deserve such name; otherwise an absurd expression.

The Illuminati if they still exist are quite without energy or even activity. So are Masons. I knew two of the first grand masters who have entirely renounced to it here and in Altona and gave up their Lodges.

⁴⁰The edition of Robison owned by Ebeling and referred to page by page in the following notes is the third, Philadelphia, 1798. References to the corresponding pages in the first edition, Edinburgh, 1797, are added in brackets. The paging of the New York edition is almost identical with that of the Philadelphia edition.

p. 101 [131]. There was no insinuating into all public charges ever known of except in a few parts of Bavaria etc. —R. says nothing of the cruell treatment and proceeding in Bavaria against people, who [were] very only fantastical, or went too far in their love of truth.

p. 120 [158]. Zollikofer was the worthiest man and Christian in every respect. He may have said what is related here; and every good man will allow that natural religion is infinitely better than irreligion which prevailed in a great part of Berlin tho' on the other side the *religious* ones were *it* there the more sincerely.

p. 65 [82]. Robison is so extremely ignorant that he makes Eberhardt, Lessing etc. divines. Eberhard⁴¹ is professor of philosophy at Halle, was before Tutor to the sons of the prussian state minister *von der Horst*. *Lessing* as you will see in Herder's book vol. 2 which I send⁴² (Herder is a Clergyman at Weimar, one of our best criticks and authors in belles lettres living) was nothing less than a divine but rather an enemy of clergy as such, and no friend to christian religion at all. His Comedies and Tragedies are master-peases, amongst them his *Nathan* is for universal toleration. He was one of the most learned men we ever had, whatever he studied he penetrated into. He long lived here and died as Librarian of Wolfenbüttele. No man had perhaps so much penetration, wit and genius joined together, but he was fond of subtle enquiries and liked paradoxes. In Society he was very enlivening. At last he had a litterary quarrel with our late archizealous pastor Goeze,⁴³ as he had published a manuscript against the Bible, perhaps the most dangerous and serious attack against mosaic and evangelic history ever printed. Basedow, Michaelis and great many wrote against it, and Goeze attacked Lessing (his former literary friend) with great warmth. Lessing was ordered to discontinue the publication of the Mss. (tho' he had added a

⁴¹Joh. August Eberhard, 1739-1809, professor at Halle, 1778-1809.

⁴²Joh. Gottfried von Herder. *Zerstreute Blätter*. Gotha, 1785-86. 2 vols.**

⁴³Joh. Melchior Goeze, 1717-1786, a Lutheran theologian, who bitterly attacked Lessing for having published the Wolfenbüttele Fragmente which were in reality extracts from a work left in Ms. by Ebeling's Hamburg friend, H. S. Reimarus.

Lessing's three publications in answer to Goeze were: *Anti-Goeze*, (11 parts), *Axiomata*, *wenn es deren in dergleichen Dingen giebt*, and *Eine Parabel*, all published at Braunschweig in 1778.

sort of refutation, which was rather sophistical). This mortified him, his health suffered so much that he died. His writings against Goeze are keen satirical *treaties* full of learning, but misapplied. He never had any part at the *Allgemeine Bibliothek* but much in the *Letters on Litterature*⁴⁴ published by Nicolai before the Library, and devoted only to belles letters.

p. 65 [83]. Not Nicolai alone asserted that the dissolution of Jesuits is *only* apparent but every man of sense *sees* it. The order is openly *revived* in Russia allready long ago.—Exjesuits are everywhere, we have two here, preachers in Catholic Chapel.

Gedicke was properly a schoolman (never of the Clergy) *Biester* Dr at Law and the Kings Librarian. All this is known by children with us, but R. is ignorant thereof yet. Nicolai was never a Rosecrucian but very busy in detecting their absurdities.

p. 66 [83–84]. His *Sebaldus Nothanker* is a satire against intolerant priests. One never would say that *Buttlar*⁴⁵ was an enemy of religion. I send it you.

It is downright absurdity to speak of a conspiracy of booksellers, except of that to get money from the pockets of the readers.

*Heinzelman's excellent work*⁴⁶ was a produce of Lavaters school and held in derision since its appearing.

The history of Basedows philanthropine is full of confusion. Basedow since its beginning left out religious Church-instruction. Geography will shew that but *very few* Catholics live about Dessau.

p. 69 [88]. The King of Prussia in his last days sitting in an elbow chair before his palace at Sans Souci saw the son shining brightly. "Soon I shall be nearer thee!" said he. This is a fact, does it shew a materialist or a believer of a life after death? Of atheistical books and many licentious books published in the prussian country, or in general in germany I heard very little. From England and France there came many over, some were translated, but certainly despised by an exceeding

⁴⁴See p. 315, note 26.

⁴⁵Butler's *Hudibras*, as directed against the anti-royalist Puritans is, I suppose, meant.

⁴⁶Joh. Georg Heinsmann, 1757–1802. *Appell an meiner Nation über Aufklärung, Gelehrsamkeit, Büchermanufacturisten*, etc. Bern, 1795.

great majority. They may have been read eagerly by the profligates, especially in the south of Germany. They are not sold by Booksellers, but by pedlars clandestinely. Such seldom ventured themselves in the prussian, saxon etc. countries.

p. 70 [89]. The religious edict⁴⁷ of the late king of Prussia was at least absurd and calculated to make hypocrites. The present king [Frederick William III] who publicly professes his adherence to Christian religion has abolished it, has publicly rebuked and dismissed the framers of it, state minister Wöllner, and the two clergymen Hilmer and Hermes, both not in the least way conspicuous by learning, but an ignorant hypocritical set of men. The King's edict against them accuses them of playing underhand intrigues. They abused of the late King's weak understanding (weak by notorious extravagance which they connived at.) They made appear ghosts to him! There has been published a collection of Reviews of all what appeared against this Edict by Abbot Henke⁴⁸ at Helmstadt, one of our most worthy divines and professors of theology.

For Mirabeau's writings I do not apologize. He was a bad man; but his secret letters on Prussia are full of facts, amongst misinformations.

p. 72 [91]. That Germany is in the same predicament with France, is a shameless insolent *lye*. But the national pride of an english hired ministerial writer is able to say such things. It is morally impossible that *one general prevailing* political and religious idea could pervade such a composed mass of people as Germany contains. But that is true, and happily true, that a general spirit for religious and civil liberty (which as our great Klopstock says is also known by the happy people under a good King where law governs and one, as well as there where the law governs and many.) Revolutionary men are to be found,

⁴⁷The Religious Edict was issued July 9, 1788, by Frederick William II, at the instance of Wöllner who had just been appointed head of the religious department for Lutheran and Catholic affairs. "It forbade Evangelical ministers to teach anything not contained in the letter of their official books, proclaimed the necessity of protecting the Christian religion against the 'enlighteners' (Aufklärer) and placed educational establishments under the supervision of the orthodox clergy." *Encycl. Brit.* XI. 68. See also p. 329.

⁴⁸Heinrich Philipp Konrad Henke, 1752-1809. Ebeling afterward sent to Bentley Henke's "Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Kirche nach der Zeitfolge, Braunschweig, 1800-1804," 6 vols.**

and were so, but not prevalent. The faults committed by many governments may increase them. For example these days the govern[ment] of the Elector of Saxony forbad a philosophical journal of *Fichte* at Jena an archiKantian who insisted that no knowledge of God's existance and attributes may be got *a posteriori*, but all *a priori*. I think that is false, but as a philosophical opinion not dangerous, especially as uttered in that abstract, obscure language of the Kantians. But it was intended to have deposed the professor and to exile the Fiscal of the empire against him as an *Atheist* (an *Atheist* who contends that a true knowledge of God is to be obtained *a priori*, is I should say an *Over-Theist*.) The Hanoverian Government confiscated the book etc. The King of Prussia having been summoned to do the same, referred it to the ecclesiastical consistory, which answered, tho' they reprobated the doctrine of the Philosopher they saw no reason for forbidding his book. Now everybody wishes to *read* the book.

p. 75 [96]. The *Neuwie Zeitung* I never saw.

p. 135 [202]. The names of *Illuminati* mentioned here are certainly most of them unknown, insignificant men, without any celebrity, even after they have been published. I except *Weishaupt*, *Knigge*, *Bode* (I doubt very much whether at the beginning he was an *Illuminat*) *Westenrieder*, *Baader*, *Nicolai*, *Barth*, *Mauvillon* (certainly not an *Illuminate* for a long time, but a friend of Liberty, and Major in the service of the Duke of *Bronswick*, who protected him when *Zimmerman* at Hanover excited the Government of Hanover against some of his writings against *Zimmerman*. This *Zimmerman*⁴⁹ was a great physician, a good prosaical writer, but vain presumtuous, of an angry temper.

p. 178 [237]. *Daniel Bernouilli*.⁵⁰ Which? There are two *Dan. Bern.* None ever was a Doctor of Theology: None properly to be called a philosopher, but they were great mathematicians. *R.* is much versed in our History of Sciences!

⁴⁹Joh. Georg Zimmermann, 1728-1795.

⁵⁰Daniel Bernouilli, physician and mathematician, born in Groningen, 1700, died in *Baale*, 1782.

p. 198 [275]. That the letters on the prussian constitution⁵¹ were a joint writing of Mirabeau and Nicolai is a mean calumny. Nobody even at the time when the opposition party or the orthodox-intolerant were at the height of their power, ever insinuated that Nicolai (whom they really hated) was in *liaison* with Mirabeau. Nicolai is too circumspect and too great a prussian patriot to enter into such schemes.

Mirabeau's Books as also his works on the prussian monarchy (which he wrote with the help of Mauvillon at Brunsvic) avowedly contain a great many truths, amongst a great many slanders or rather some slander.

p. 202 [280]⁵² I believe there exists not a line where Nicolai *defended* the Illuminati, unless the reprobating the arbitrary unlawfull and even cruel behaviour of the bavarian Government against them, *in some points*, deserves that name. Lawfull proceedings against the Illuminati I never would disapprove.

p. 203 [281]. The Countess von der Recke⁵³ is a very amiable Lady, her poems under the name Elisa breathe the purest sentiments of religion, morality and a fine sense for all that is good and noble. Her character is very soft. The author calumniates her at the best of his powers. She is sister to the Duchess of Courland. Catherina the late empress made her a gift of an estate and she lived at her court not long before the death of Catherine. It is absurd to paint her as a *virago*. She is even somewhat too female, somewhat sentimental.

⁵¹Robison, in describing the rise of the German Union which followed upon the suppression of the Illuminati, speaks of the favorable reception given to "the infamous letters on the constitution of the Prussian states," the general opinion being that Mirabeau was their author and that "it was perfectly understood by every person, that the translation into French was a joint contrivance of Mirabeau and Nicholai." He gives his reasons for this opinion in some detail. I am indebted to Professor R. H. Lord of Cambridge for the suggestion that the work referred to was the publication entitled—"Geheime Briefe über die preussische Staatsverfassung seit der Thronbesteigung Friedrich Wilhelm des Zweyten," Utrecht [Berlin?], 1787. Philippson calls this a well-informed work, and says it was probably written by Geh. Finanarat von Boreke, a brother of the General. That there was a French translation is shown by the reply to it: "An den französischen Uebersetzer einer deutschen Schrift, Geheime Briefe, etc., Lemgo, 1788."

⁵²In Ebeling's edition of Robison page numbers 197-202 are repeated. It is the second p. 202 which is referred to.

⁵³Elisa, Baronin von der Recke (born Reichsgräfin von Medem, 1754-1833. A collected edition of her letters and diaries was made by Paul Rachel and published in 1900-1902, 2 vols.

p. 204 [282-283]. The character given here to Nicolai will be held in derision throughout Germany, the bigoted and jesuitical part excepted. It is entirely a fiction.

Starks Contest [with Nicolai] was never considered as important, tho it occupied many pens. That is allways the sad case in Germany in literary political and religious quarrels that the scriblers are at hand. Men of sense don't care it.

Bahrđt had one undoubted merit, that he opposed to objurants, that he resisted bigotry and perfunctory orthodoxy, that he was for free inquiry, by which religion cannot but gain, for liberty of the press etc. The farce of the Union he played is entirely forgotten and was but short lived.

219 [302]. Such tales as of the Gräfin (not *Crafin*) and Biester *giving oath* etc. is highly ridiculous. All Gazettes were full of protestations of men who were named as members of this miserable Union, and each was trusted upon his word; as Barth was known.

p. 230 [317]. *The persons high in office at Berlin* This seems to betray the whole mystery of R. writing. He may then have got his materials from Wölner late minister of state and such like.

p. 237 [325]. That great encouragement was given to *licentious* books in Germany is false unless it means that *licentious* people liked them. Our Reviews are full of proofs of the contrary. Sceptic books were not disliked by those who love truth, and ought not to be rejected but *refuted* if erroneous. Books that *derided* religion never found great encouragement with us, but candid sceptics were not persecuted by good people, very often by clergymen in power.

239 [329]. Barths Farce the Religious Edict⁵⁴ is a miserable mean production of his pen—Pott a generally despised scribbler, never made great sensation and was immediately forgotten.

248 [341]. Barth with the Iron brow.⁵⁵ R. cannot recollect who published it! I dare say he will not, because it is known universally that Zimmermans Sancho Pansa Dr. Marcard,

⁵⁴Das Religionsedict. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Thenakel [Wein], 1789.

⁵⁵Doctor Bahrđt mit der eisernen Stirn, oder Die deutsche Union gegen Zimmermann. Ein Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen von Freyherrn von Knigge. 1790.

then in Hanover, now in Oldenberg, gave the materials and Kotzebue a dramatic author not without talents (but not at all a Shakespear as the English now seem to make out of him) brought them into dramatical form. It is a highly ridiculous thing mixing good and innocent authors together. Only meant at those who opposed in the least way the immortality of Zimmerman now *entirely* deceased. It is full of low vulgarlike base scenes and ribaldry. No man of honour could write it. It failed quite its effect, but *killed* nearly a young man in Hanover who was attacked in this libel against more than 20 of our learned, good and innocent mixed with guilty in one continual slander. Hanoverian government excited many to make a process to the author, but none thought it worth the while.

259 [355]. It is quite false that Mauvillon⁵⁶ avowed anarchical opinions. He died *in favor* with his prince a few years afterwards. He was a true friend of *lawfull* liberty.

p. 287 [392]. Principles of anarchy digested into system in Germany is certainly a falsehood, especially as to that part where Mirabeau was. Mirabeau spoke very freely, but he never said anything which could make us suppose such things. He was also here a short time, and behaved well. This you know was before the revolution where he acted such a treacherous part on every side.

Bode⁵⁷ was never *Freyherr* and it is absolutely false that he played a principal or any conspicuous part in Illumination, but he was very busy in detecting and eradicating the noxious influence by *foreign* unknown superiours (jesuits or who they were) into Masonry. He was entirely an honest man, somewhat blunt and hot, but well meaning. He was a musician and played the hoboy in a Regiment at Bronswic. One of my first teachers Mr. Stockhausen (a good author in belles letters and afterwards of the first in the Clergy of Hassia) excited him as a man of genius to apply to sciences. So he went to Hamburg and gave lessons in music, english language etc. I knew him intimately for many years. He went to Weimar with the Widow of the Great Bernstorff the elder whose Anagnostes he

⁵⁶Jacob Mauvillon, 1743-1794, a friend of Mirabeau, and an enthusiastic follower of the French Revolution.

⁵⁷See p. 317.

was. I doubt whether any thing of what is said p. 288-9 be true. That Bode was immersed in debt I never heard.

The Vienna Zeitschrift quoted p. 290 [397] is an insipid jesuitical and despotic medley, which no man of sense ever read. [*Marginal Note.* The author is *Hofmann*, a man of no consequence or esteem, cf. p. 302.] *Girtanners Nachrichten von der franz. Revolution*⁵⁸ a voluminous work against the Revolution even in its good beginning, quite aristocratical. He wished to be professor of physick at Goettingen and thought to insinuate himself into favour by this book. *Revolutions Almanack* published annually by one Reichard at Gotha who is paid therefore. A despicable performance against what was good in the revolution, and what is bad therein, mixing all together with equal stupidity.

305 [418]. The Hamburg (rectius the Altona) political Journal is written since 1782 by a political blockhead and sycophant, one *Schirach*.⁵⁹ He was a master of arts at Halle of that school of Dunses there which was called *Klotz's school*⁶⁰ who opposed to our best authors Lessing, Ramler, to Ernesti etc. in order to get a fame but soon became ridiculous on account of their want of taste, impudence, rusticity and illiberality. They made an impudent noise from 1764 to 1770. Lessing wrote *Antiquarian Letters* against their Chief (*Klotz*) who pretended to be a connoisseur of ancient gems, Inscriptions etc. and ridiculised his impertinence. So they fell back into nothing. *Schirach* in this shipwreck got safe to Helmstadt, was made a professor, wrote an adulatory treatise in defence of a danish law excluding foreigners (Germans) from employments and got a pension for it; so he came to settle in Danemarc. Having written a miserable life of Charles VI the Emperor he was *ennobled* by Maria Theresia. To maintain his rank he wrote that Journal, wherein the Americans from beginning to end were treated as Rebels (even now you

⁵⁸Christoph Girtanner, 1760-1800, *Historische Nachrichten und politische Betrachtungen über die französische Revolution*. Berlin, 1792-1803. 14 vols., of which the last four are a continuation by Friedrich Buchholz.

⁵⁹Gottlob Benedict von Schirach, 1743-1804, during the last twenty years of his life edited the "*Politisches Journal, nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen.*" Its publication continued for many years after Schirach's death.

⁶⁰See p. 315.

are an unhappy people severely repenting for your defection) His gross adulation to Kings, noblemen etc. makes him despised by every body. He is commonly called the *new prophet* in Germany, as he greatly deals in political prophecies, and anecdotes. His credulity is so very great that he inserted once a relation of manoeuvres and military operations made at Luneberg, in an encampment (30 miles from hence) where the troops were said to have attacked mountains (all in a circumference of 60 miles is sandy plain) and the cavallery to have charmed instead of *charged* with the enemy, and that they had imitated the battle of Rosbach. All was fun to try his stupidity. So he is often imposed upon, and quite incorrigible against innumerable poignant satires.

p. 353 [480] It is a nefarious betraying of truth to mention blackguard productions of the German presses against religion (which Robison was not able to read as he confessed) and not to mention at the same time the many excellent works in defense of religion by Michaelis, Spalding, Less, Herder, Cramer (at Kiel once) Jerusalem, Loefer, Henke, Zollicofer, Marezoll, Koppe, and a great many others. The first are not so very common, especially since several years, are soon forgotten; but the last are often reprinted and held in esteem, as much as many of the first are despised. Paine's work was translated,⁶¹ his age of reason, even here, by a young man of no bad or profligate character, but precipitate in his judgements, he called *all* clergymen hypocrites; our clergy laughed at this juvenile impertinence, and the book made no impression at all. The translator I hear repented to have injured so very many worthy men and to have offended against that toleration, he would establish.

Excuse Dear Sir, that I dwelt so long upon this venal party writer. Those allarmists do as much mischief as the french propagand may have done. They perpetuate *wars*, and I am persuaded it is their intention. As on one side liberty and its glorious sake has been shamefully betrayed, on the other despotism, intolerance, the feudalism of nobility and the

⁶¹Das Zeitalter der Vernunft, Deutschland (Lubeck), 1794-96. Translated by Heinrich Christoph Albrecht, a teacher of English at Halle, later teacher of languages at Hamburg.

superstition of popish or its like Hierarchy find their abettors. War is broken out at new in Germany and will be continued with double fury. It is begun at new against the will of nations, who cry out for peace loudly. In this very moment the conditions of the peace of Campo Formio appear in our newspapers wherein [word deleted] is promised to *help* the French to reduce Mayence, etc. etc. (See the Gazettes I send). You may think what sensation is produced thereby.

But I must finish this too long letter. I shall continue to send you what I can get to illustrate and give proofs of what I advanced in this letter in opposition to Robison.

I hope to be better soon and shall then write about the other contents of your kind letters.

Believe me to be with great esteem
Reverend Sir,
Your
most obedient Servant
E.

You are at liberty to communicate the contents of my letter to your friends and even print what you think worth of public knowledge, but not mentioning of my name. You see how hot the parties are now and what persecution they threaten to all *secus sentientes*. It neither must be said that a letter from *Hamburg* contains these things, which would be as good as mentioning my name.⁶²

⁶²It is not altogether easy to follow the controversy arising out of Ebeling's letters to Bentley and Morse—a controversy which raged for a time between the Rev. Jedediah Morse and the papers which attacked him and finally resulted in the publication under false pretences of the substance of this letter. Ebeling refers to the matter in several later letters, (July 26 and 28, 1800) regretting that what he had hastily written was published, and (April 17, 1801) complaining of the inaccurate form in which it was printed, but finally (July 12 and 14) disclaiming any dissatisfaction at the publication. See pp. 345, 348, 353, 354, 358. The newspapers of the day eagerly exploited Ebeling's reported opinions on Robison's work as a means of discrediting Morse's agitation against the supposed dangers to American institutions threatened by the Illuminati. Stauffer gives most of the necessary references to the various papers concerned.

In the "American Mercury" (Hartford), September 26, 1799, we find the following statement: "We have been informed, and in a way that authorises us to speak with confidence of the truth of the information, that a Rev. Doctor [i. e. Morse] . . . lately received a letter from Professor Ebling." This letter states in substance that Robison's book has no reputation in Europe, and is entitled to no consideration. In this the writer followed the general tenor of Ebeling's letter to Bentley and doubtless of his shortly subsequent letter to Morse (see p. 00) but he went on to say that Ebeling's letter also made serious charges against Robison's moral character, accused him of forgery and of having

TO DR. BENTLEY

MARCH 28, 1799.

REVEREND SIR

I had the honour to write you by the post before three weeks,¹ and intended to send you a parcel with several Books containing Masonry, Illuminati and the present state of Germany with relation to that point.² Unhappily [what] I hoped should reach you first comes at the last. A merchant who charged himself with forwarding it by the first ship sailing to Boston, forgot the parcel and upon enquiry I was obliged to retake it; so you find

taken refuge in France, and stated that he had been expelled from the Masonic lodge in Edinburgh. The statements were given wider publicity in the "Connecticut Courant" of September 30 and in the "Bee" (New London) of October 9. Morse replied October 4, asking Babcock the publisher of the "Mercury" to state "that the piece was without foundation and a vile calumnious falsehood," and he demanded the name of the author. Babcock answered that "our authority is not an obscure character; there are but few esteemed more respectable in New England," that he was a person who saw the original in the Rev. Doctor's presence and drafted the substance of the same; and he called upon Morse to substantiate his charge by printing the original letter. Morse replied, October 31, that Ebeling's letter was a private letter and that honor and duty forbade him to publish it, but that it contained nothing to justify the Mercury's statement and he referred for corroboration to Professors Tappan and Pearson. This letter was printed in the "American Mercury" of November 14 and is followed by a long answer by Babcock covering nearly two columns and full of satirical abuse and petty fault-finding.

In the meantime a correspondent "Z" had sent a clear and restrained statement of the case to the "Connecticut Courant" pointing out that the charges of forgery, etc. were marked with quotations as being taken from Professor Ebeling's letter to Dr. Morse and he concludes that Babcock himself fabricated the paragraph. This with the other letters was reprinted in the "Columbian Centinel" (Boston) of November 9, 1799 and in the "American Mercury" of November 7. Morse's letter of October 31 will also be found in the "Columbian Centinel" of November 23. The next step in the controversy was the publication of what purported to be the full text of Ebeling's letter to Morse in the "Bee" of November 20, 25, and 27 and in the "Aurora" (General Advertiser) of November 25 and December 6 and 9. They remark—"It will now be seen . . . that the information first received of its contents, if not correct in branding the character of Robison with the infamy of forgery, is yet sufficiently authenticated as to prove his book to be a most wicked and vile imposture." The letter printed, however, was in substance Ebeling's letter to Bentley of March 23, 1799, many sentences and some paragraphs omitted, and all freely rewritten so as to eliminate Ebeling's occasional uncouth or original phrases, but unmistakable as to its origin.

See also p. 362 where Ebeling writes of the letter he had received from Robison and of his reply.

¹Not of course the letter of March 13, but an earlier one which has not been preserved, referred to at the opening of the letter of March 13, p. 307. Some paragraphs of the present letter and a part of the book-titles are omitted, being simply repetitions of portions of the previous letter.

²See p. 309 where some of these books are mentioned as having been sent.

the Books and the Hambro newspapers till this day in the larger Box accompanying this letter. It contains³

1. Philo's i. e. Knigge's Answer
2. Apologie der Illuminaten by Weishaupt
3. Nicolai Account of his Interest in the Illuminati, which is universally acknowledged as honest truth
4. Beiträge für Geschichte der geheimen Gesellschaften.
5. Griesbachs N T. Vol. 1. I have got a Copy tho' the Book is not sold properly before its being completely. It came too late to have it bound.
6. A large Mass of Jena Litteratur Zeitung, 1791 to 1797 It is no complete Collection, which is found very seldom unless in large libraries and commonly is sold for a 100 Dollars, but I fortunately got this at a trifle. It will give you the best accounts of the Kantian philosophy and afterwards of that of Fichte, who formerly was a Kantian but now liked better to set up for himself.
7. Nicolai on Templarians and Masons.

I have laid another large letter⁴ in the Book No. 4. Excuse its rhapsodical stile. I was then very sick, but my fever had left me. I would be quite restored had not the winter returned before yesterday with great deal of snow and some frost. This is very seldom with us at so late a time.

You [i. e. I] send also some Maps for you. I shal continue to send you my America Maps as Noctuas Athenas⁵, but you will not disapprove of them when you see how carefully we search to avoid the faults which we may detect; I added a specimen of a Map just now printing.

*1) Philo's endliche Erklärung und Antwort auf verschiedene Anforderungen und Fragen, die an ihn ergangen, seine Verbindung mit dem Orden der Illuminaten betreffend. Hannover, 1788.**

3) Fr. Nicolai. Öffentliche Erklärung über seine geheime Verbindung mit dem Illuminatenorden. Nebst beyläufigen Digressionen betreffend Hrn. Joh. Aug. Stark und Hrn. Joh. Kaspar Lavater. Berlin und Stettin, 1788.**

4) Beiträge zur philosophischen Geschichte der heutigen geheimen Gesellschaften. 1786.** The anonymous author was H. G. von Bretschneider.

6) "Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung," published at Jena from 1785 to 1803, at Halle, 1804-1849. Ebeling's set received through the American Antiquarian Society served to make good a few gaps in the Harvard set. The "Jenaische allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung" began publication in 1804 when the older publication was transferred to Halle.

⁴Evidently the letter of March 13 is meant.

⁵Owls to Athens, like coals to Newcastle.

You will excuse that I added a roll for Dr Morse. So I have packed up in the larger Box for [i. e. four] talmudic Books for Prof. Pearson. Both you will let them have as occasion offers, or they send for it.

The second smaller Box contains [some titles omitted here to avoid repetition].

5. Theological Magazine. To shew that even our orthodox divines are participating from [i.e. in] the light of the day. The Editor⁶ is the first of the Hanoverian or Bremen Clergy, and the same who was so laudably employed in sending german Clergymen to North-Carolina, and who wrote for them (together with other professors then his Collegues at Helmstadt) Catechism, History from the Bible, a commercial Geography and a Treatise or Collection of Usefull Knowledge for everybody, which was sent at publick Expence to North Carolina. He is a very worthy man and an academical friend of mine tho' we greatly differ in theological principles.
8. Campe's Works on Education
9. Krohn's Catalogue with the late Authors own remarks. It is a very chosen library of an excellent man, who tho' very orthodox, was intimate friend to several heterodox Clergymen here and in the neighborhood.
10. Herder's Blätter. This clergyman is one of our best living genius's and very intelligent learned. You find many of his reviews in the Erfurt paper.

[He adds, without change, the list of twelve items found at the opening of his letter of March 13, and continues with reports of the latest news from France.]

Excuse my abrupt writing. But I cannot finish without

⁶5) The person meant must be Johann Caspar Velthusen, 1740-1814, Professor of Theology successively at Kiel, Helmstadt and Rostock. The enumeration of his writings in Meusel's *Das gelehrte Deutschland*, viii. 195, covers eight pages and includes many titles of the kind mentioned by Ebeling. He was also the editor of "Nordcarolinische Kirchennachrichten" 1^{tes} Heft, Leipzig, 1790; 2^{tes} und letstes Heft, Stade, 1792.* This gives an account of the books and supplies sent to the three missionaries in North Carolina, Pastor Nussman, Pastor Roschen and Pastor Storch, and prints the letters and reports received from them. In the same volume is bound up Velthusen's "Rede and Gebet bey Einsegnung Herrn Carl August Gottlieb Storch sum evangelischen Gehülfsprediger fur Nordcarolina," Leipzig, 1788. See also p. 374.

8) J. H. Campe. *Sammlung einiger Erziehungsschriften*. 2 vol. Leipzig. 1778.**

repeating my thanks for your very kind presents. I should be happy if what I send you is in some way agreeable to you. How very much acceptable your Books were you will see by my other letters.

I have not been able to complete my fifth volume nor the second Edition of the first; I was too sickly. It will be done I hope in a month or two.

I have the honour to be with great
esteem
Reverend Sir
Your
most obedient and much obliged
Servant
C D EBELING

[Postscript]

I must once more remark that I received your parcels in 1797 and also the Letter of Dr Tucker. I wrote himself and hear the Letter is arrived at Philadelphia. You cannot conceive how much I owe you for your great pains and trouble. I shall be attentive to get of our best works as they occur in auctions. They rapidly are out of print; the bad ones are to be had in all libraries. I hope this is no bad compliment to our readers. Adelung's continuation is not yet out.

I forget to tell you that Dr Pearson, Dr Tappan, Dr Morse enquired also from me about Robison⁷. I was only able to write somewhat amply to the latter but I fear it is no consolation to these Gentlemen; yet I think impartial truth ought to be told allways. They are too equitable to blame me for it.

⁷These gentlemen were greatly alarmed and excited by the appearance of Robison's book. Stauffer gives an account of the disturbance they raised. Morse led off with a fast-day sermon at the New North Church in Boston, repeated in the afternoon in Charlestown, May 9, 1798. Professor Tappan followed with a "Discourse delivered in the Chapel of Harvard College, June 19, 1798." Stauffer's bibliography gives the titles of many other sermons and addresses on the same subject and traces the course of the discussion in the public press.

Bentley records in his Diary, Dec. 8, 1798 (vol. II, p. 291)—"In yesterday's gazette we had the last roar of poor Morse. His only fort was in recourse to vulgar prejudice. He did not dare to meet an argument fairly. He ranted upon the seal of Masons, his old Copie of Robison, then condemned all Secret Societies, etc." For the later discussion, see note 62 on p. 333.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPTEMBER 7, 1799.

REVEREND SIR

I owe you so much that I am ashamed of answering you so late, having your Letters of May 6th, July 5th and July 8th before me. But you are kind enough to excuse me when I tell you that I am really overwhelmed with business as I have been chosen Librarian of the public Library which was in great confusion, and to bring about 100,000 Volumes in order and congruence with the Nominal- and Real-Catalogues, writing down some thousands of Titles of Books not yet inserted, rectifying 10,000 others, and all this without a Colleague, only with the help of a few Volunteers and two Gymnasiasts—besides this continuing my Geography, publishing a new Edition, attending my lessons.—you see Dear Sir how little time is remaining for correspondence tho' I have almost given over supper every day and scarce visit any of my friends.

I have received all what you kindly sent me by Capt Williams, White, Eliot and Fairfield as also a Letter by Capt Hodges but have not been favoured by a visit of any of those Gentlemen you mentioned. The parcel by Capt. *Goodwin* containing *Prince's Chronology*¹ I have not received. I hear that Capt Goodwin went by way of London, but cannot find that he was here. You mention that you sent together with Prince vol 38 of American pamphlets. I owe to your kindness Vol 28th of pamphlets containing 16 pamphlets on N E. Church History by Clarke, Waterland, Homer, Stiles, Seabery with your instructive Catalogue of them.² I have also Kirklands Sermon on Belknap³ which you mention likewise, tho' perhaps this Copy was sent by Mr Eliot. But Prince's Chronology did

¹He had begged Bentley before to get this book for him, April 28, 1798.

²This volume is now on the shelves of the Harvard Library marked Tr. 410. Besides the sixteen pamphlets mentioned it contains a long descriptive letter from Bentley, undated, but beginning, "I have sent this xxviii Vol. of my Pamphlets to you because I could not readily supply the papers in it respecting the establishment of Episcopacy in these States . . . As I have sent the Volume I will give you the history of every part of it, should it be deserving of any attention for any other purpose than Episcopacy." Sent in response to Ebeling's request of April 29, 1796. See p. 292.

³John T. Kirkland. A sermon delivered at the interment of the Rev. Jeremy Belknap. Boston, [1798].* Inscribed "for Professor Ebeline from the family of his deceased friend."

not yet reach me. I should be extremely gratified to have made use of it in reviewing my history. I shall still enquire at London, and Mr Consul Pitcairn will also be so obliging to help me to find out the parcel. The Laws of Virginia I have got⁴ and am extremely happy to have got them by your great kindness. I wrote to Dr Tucker and have the honour of his answer lately.

Your exertions to procure me valuable materials call for my most heartfelt gratitude. So your entertaining and instructive Letters, your Description of Cape Anne, your annotations to my Book. I wish for only half a day of leasure to answer them each in particular. In our next St Michaels Vacancies I shall employ so much time as I ever can spare to make up a Catalogue of my American Library, as also set down queries at your desire.

I am so unhappy occupied that I even could not make use of the friendship and kindness of Colonel James Swan the worthy American, who wrote on National Arithmetic⁵ etc who was here more than half a year and is a source of instruction.

[He recapitulates the boxes already sent with their contents in brief. These he has already described in more detail in the letters of March 13 and March 28.]

Now I sent another large Box of many Kind of Books which I hope will be acceptable. I have mostly been forced to have them bound in haste for our Bookbinders are few, and for binding in calf they retain a Book often six or eight weeks. I shall make up in Books, what wants in Binding. You will find

1. The Gotha literary Gazette from Nr 18 to Nr 68. I have marked with a pencil several particularly interesting Reviews.
2. The Erfurt ditto
3. The political Hambro new Gazette wherein the Reviews or Books under *Gelehrte Artikel* are of my workmanship. Now and then you will remark that I could not write freely.⁶ That is not at all the fault of our Government,

⁴See note to letter of April 28, 1798, p. 303.

⁵[James Swan.] National arithmetic: or Observations on the finances of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Boston, [1786].*

⁶See the letter of March 13, 1799, p. 309 where he refers to the same difficulty.

but of the foreign Ministers who indirectly check very much the most circumspect freedom of writing. Even our good Magistrate is accused to be a *lover of Anarchy*, because he wishes to preserve neutral commerce—and is not able to lay any weight into the ballance, but tolerates and protects ten times as many french emigrants, than french Republicans.

[He adds editions of Isocrates, Theophrastus, Hesiod, Euripides, Anacreon, Sophocles, Lucian and Plato.]

12. *Löfler von der Genugthuung Christi*. The Author is one of our best Divines tho' no Sectary at all, and scarce to be called a Lutheran Theologus. But *must* Religion and Christianity be reduced into the form of a Sect?
13. *Meusels Leitfaden* is the Beginning of a History of Sciences which bids fair to become very good.
14. *Hagedorns Poems*. He lived at Hamburg and is one of our first Classiks and very easy too.
15. *Epicteti Enchiridion et Arriani Epictetea philosophia* published by Schwenkhauser. Is just now come out. You will allow me to offer it for the Virginia laws. The inward value of the Edition will I hope make it acceptable to you, if not so usefull as the Laws are to me. Their price is the same.
16. *Reimarus (the Father's) on Natural Religion*.⁷ It has been translated into french and dutch as his teleological treatise on the Instincts of Animals has been into english. He was one of our best philosophers.
17. *Reimarus (the Son's) on the Existence of God*.⁸ This my venerable College is writing like his father in philosophy; but his Father was a great Philologus too as he is a great physician. He is father in Law to the new

⁷Hermann Samuel Reimarus, 1694–1768. *Abhandlungen von dem vornehmsten Wahrheiten der natürlichen Religion*, 1755.

⁸Joh. Albert Heinrich Reimarus, 1729–1814, son of the preceding. *Von dem Dasein Gottes und von der menschlichen Seele*. Hamburg, 1781. Reimarus also wrote on philosophical, commercial, economic and medical topics. His daughter married Charles Frédéric Reinhard, 1761–1837. Reinhard was a member of the Academy of Sciences of Göttingen, where Ebeling probably knew him. His diplomatic career began at London in 1792 when Talleyrand's attention was drawn to him, and he continued in diplomatic employments the greater part of his life. Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 20 to Nov. 22, 1799. Created Comte in 1814 by Louis XVIII.

french minister of foreign affairs, who (by the by I may mention) is a very worthy excellent man of principles and virtues. I hope much from him, and Sieyès. Even Mallet du Pan cannot but praise his integrity, but instead of rejoicing at his appointment he says that is a proof of french hypocrisy. An angel would rejoice at the conversion of a Sinner—but du Pan is too humane.

18. Nicolai's History of his learned Education and Life.⁹ This same Nicolai whom miserable Robinson paints as an Illuminate etc etc has been appointed and confirmed by the King as Member of the royal Academy of Sciences. As the King is a true sincere friend to religion this appointment will prove at least that he has not been of the learned Mr Robisons opinion about Nicolai, whom Mr R always stiles *Nicholai*, a proof that he never read one of his pretty numerous writings. But Nicolai is an enemy to popery and bigotry. And there are many believing that the restitution of popery and Jesuits makes a part of the great plan of a secret great propaganda, whose views are somewhat different from any kind of liberty, tho' ostensibly they only oppose french liberty, which I would also oppose to in its late shape.
19. Velthusen on Fichte¹⁰ (the Jena philosopher, deposed from his professorship because suspect of Atheism tho' he solemnly denied it and wrote with execration of Atheism. His obscure, scholastical, over-acute writings made yet the accusation not incredible and he hastened himself his dismissal.
20. Schreiben eines Catholischer Geistlichen.¹¹ Shows in what view was regarded even formerly the controversy about Illumination and Masonry.
20. Sotzman's Atlas with his new Geography.

⁹Ueber meine gelehrte Bildung, über meine Kenntniss der kritischen Philosophie und meine Schriften dieselbe betreffend, und über die Herren Kant, J. B. Erhard, und Fichte. Berlin, 1799.**

¹⁰Einige Fragen veranlasst durch J. G. Fichte's Appellation an das Publikum-Helmstadt, 1799.

¹¹"Schreiben eines katholischer Geistlichen in Baiern die Verfolgung der Illuminaten betreffend." Gotha, 1786.

21. *Fabri's* new Geography.¹² The last Edition.
22. Weishaupt's *Geschichte der Vervollkommung des menschl. Geschlechts*, not continued.
23. His *verbessertes System*.¹³ This is reckoned his best apology. You may confer one of the *Gotha Gazettes* about his newest History. He lives unblamable since many years.
24. *Aeschylus* Comment Vol. 2.
25. German *Erato* translated by Mr Beresford an Englishman now here.
26. *Frankreich* the continuation.
26. *My American Geogr.* Vol. 5th.
27. *Maps of Maine and New York.* That of New York costs me a very great deal of trouble and many expences to the Editor as the erection of new Counties obliged us to engrave a considerable part anew.

I have added a Roll of Maps for Mr Eliot at Boston which you will occasionally have forwarded to him.

[He speaks of the mysterious murder of the French ambassadors, Debry and Roberjot, on their way home from Rastadt and the failure to make a prompt inquiry, and then turns to American politics.]

Your politics in the Newspaper I hope are not those of the Government and the Nation For if America would go to war without necessity and imitate the french in their former principles of conquest—I would burn my whole Book and all materials for my Geography and History of America. You will laugh at these *fulgura ex pelvi*, and so your Country men will say that this burning was the better for them. In that case I shall rather continue it.

If occasionally you can procure me the Laws of Rhode Island, and of Kentucky lately printed at Lexington you will ad to the great many obligations I owe you.

The newspapers being extended to those of the inner parts of America viz Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina etc or to

¹²J. E. Fabri. *Handbuch der neuesten Geographie für Akademien und Gymnasien.* 5^o Aufl. Halle, 1795.

¹³Das verbesserte System der Illuminaten mit allen seinen Einrichtungen und Graden. Frankfurt, 1787.

Nova-Scotia, Quebec if occasion offers, and it is not expensive, will oblige me.

You will excuse my not sending sooner the Reviews, it was only by inadvertence, they were mislaid among other papers. Formerly as a nephew of mine still lived with me I could rely upon him. Now he is gone to the Westindies and [I am] quite alone, and have only a servant and an old [woman?] who wait upon me together with 10 other people in our house in whose service they are. You see a German professor is not over happily situated when he is a Batchelor.

But with all that I shall always be at your orders and rejoice in executing them.

The Biblia hebraica Reineccii costs only 3 Dollars unbound, and so I have ordered it from Leipsic without further notice. I hope to get it soon.

I have the honour to be with very great esteem and thankfulness

Dear Sir
Your
most obedient humble Servant
C. D. EBELING.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

Corr. Secretary, Massachusetts Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 9, 1799.¹

[Acknowledges the receipt of five volumes of the Historical Society's Collections for Göttingen and encloses a letter of thanks from Heyne (the editor of Virgil). He sends the fifth volume of his Geography and says, "Perhaps you may be persuaded to learn our language, not for my book's sake, which is by no means worth the while, but for a great many better ones, especially in Theology and History." He mentions the box he has just made up for Dr. Bentley and his failure to receive anything by Captain Goodwin's hands. The rest of the letter is devoted to European politics, with some references to the fear aroused in America by the Illuminati.]

¹In papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPTEMBER 14, 1799.

[Refers to his letter of a few days earlier sent by post and to boxes recently sent.

He defends Klopstock's position with regard to France and denounces a letter purporting to be by Klopstock, which appeared in the "Salem Gazette," no. 772, as absolutely false.]

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

JULY 26, 1800.¹

I take the liberty to send you the new Edition of the first Volumes of my Geography of the United States and the last parts of *le Nord*,² which you will be so kind as to present to the Historical Society. The encreased Size of the Book may prove that I enlarged it much, but I wish all this was real amendment. I have separated the Description of Maine as it is likely to become a new State in some years, and has been so much improved since the publishing of the first Edition.³ The History of your State has been continued to this day, I hope with impartiality tho' I cannot flatter myself that I succeeded as to exactitude. Each page will show by the quotations how much I made use of the very valuable materials found in the Collections of the Society, and how much I am indebted to them, as also to their learned Member the American Geographer.⁴

I have delayed so long to answer your very kind Letter of Jan 18. on account not only of very much business, greatly increased by the deranged state of our public Library which was put under my care; but also of the weakness of my health, which I was prevented to restore by frequent exercise, as [a]

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 85.

²"Le Nord Littéraire." By Francois Olivarius. 1797-1800. 4 vols. The numbers sent are in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

³In the first edition of Vol. I (1793), covering New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the portion devoted to the description of Massachusetts was divided into West Massachusetts (pp. 377-489) and East Massachusetts or the District of Maine (pp. 489-544), followed by the historical section, pp. 545-862.

In the second edition which has grown to 1517 pp., "Das Land Maine" occupies the final section of the volume, pp. 1283-1494.

⁴The Rev. Jedidiah Morse for whom Ebeling entertained no very high opinion.

friend and Colleague of mine⁵ with whom I live in the same house fell into a severe sickness which keeps him in the bed since 4 months. This was not only a severe affliction to myself but also required all my leasure hours, which are indeed a very few ones. The entertainment and instruction which I would acquire by a more frequent correspondence with worthy men like you, I was forced to renounce to, but hope to cultivate it better in future.

I never should have any objection that all what I wrote, might appear in print, as far as I am conscious that what I wrote was true to the best of my knowledge. But this is not sufficient to make them worthy of public appearance. I must write in a hurry; my political sentiments I may freely and without the least danger utter to a free American. So I may do here in conversation with my fellow citizens. But it is another thing, if the same is read or heard by the Aristocrates of Europe, by those in the service of Kings, etc. As in the letter in question I should wish that all had been left out what belongs to the late King of P. The present King, excellent in every regard, would not mind it, if it came to his knowledge, but others might. Yet I wish with a[ll] my heart that such men as Barruel⁶ might be exposed in their true shape, as they really are, noxious to true religion and morality. More has been published lately (June) in *Wieland's Mercury*⁷ (a Magazine of one of our best Authors) a Letter from a Nobleman in Vienna that shews how Barruel collected all such crude things. He was for 5 years (in 70 and 80.) at Vienna in the Collegium Theresianum where allways some french Exjesuits are pensioned for so many years. He never learned our

⁵Johann Georg Büsch, Ebeling's partner in the conduct of the Handlungsakademie, who died August 5, 1800.

⁶The abbé Augustin de Barruel, 1741-1820, whose "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme," in four volumes was published in London in 1797-98, and was reprinted in Hamburg, in five volumes in 1803. An "Abrégé des Mémoires, etc.," was printed in London almost simultaneously (1798) in a single volume. An English translation by the Hon. Robert Clifford was printed at Hartford (vols. I and II), New York (vol. III), and Elisabeth-Town (vol. IV) in 1799, "First American edition from the second London edition."

⁷Der Teutsche Merkur, 1773-80; Der Neue teutsche Merkur, 1790-1810. Weimar—The articles referred to will be found in the numbers for May and July, 1800—Ueber den Abbé Barruel; Auszug eines Briefs aus Wien, pp. 89-92. Licht und Finsternisse; ein Schreiben aus Ingolstadt, pp. 65-80. Nachrichten über Baiern, pp. 237-249.

language, but picked up from hear say all sort of true or false or halftrue anecdotes as may be told in the company of his fellow-priests. When driven from France as an *refractory Clergyman* i. e. a non-Juror, he went to London. In Order to insinuate himself into the grace of some mighty Protectors, he wrote his Book. This accounts for all. The best proof against him with regard to the Illuminati of Bavaria is that the present worthy Elector has placed a great many of those formerly accused or convinced of Illuminatism not only in places of government but also at the schools and the University of Ingolstadt. The same Mercury of the month of June contains very ample and circumstantial a comparison of the present with the former state of the University, which is as light to darkness. I wish our language was read in Boston, and I should send this Magazine.

Barruels Book with its Abridgment has been forbidden even at *Vienna* lately as the Words of the Edict say: because it contains great many base slanders (*Lästerungen* calumnies) and is taken from pamphlets allready forbidden because they contain the same invectives and lies. This I take also from the said Mercury.

I have had a very anxious quarrel about the excellent and truly great Washington. One *Kierulf* a Swede who was in America for several years, and returned disappointed, became an inveterate ennemy to your country. He lived at Altona, but never dared to come to see me; at last he wrote a letter to convert me, as he stiled it, from my American heresy. I did not answer it. He went to Berlin and wrote there against Washington, pres. Adams, Muhlenberg, as if they were the most worthless men. In reviewing the first of his Essays in one of our newspapers I refuted shortly what he advanced against the honour of your late President, quoting the testimonies even of several of his enemies in favour of him. This *Kierulf* took so much amiss, that (tho' there was not the least personality in my refutation) he accused me before our Senate inclosing a Letter: To the mad dog the professor Eb. The Senate rejected both the accusation and the letter, and I heard of it but occasionally. One Dr Ellison of New York then being at Berlin wrote a defense of Wash. and Adams which was very

well written, and inserted into the *Archive of the Time* (a monthly Magazine) published by one professor Rambach at Berlin.⁸ K. threatened to kill him and brought a suit against him before the—Ministre of War! You see that you have terrible enemies in Europe. But you will avoid their wrath, by giving your best places and pensions to such foreigners as come over to America in order to make a fortune there; for *hinc illae lacrymae*.

[He expresses his hopes for peace at least in Germany and sums up recent developments in Europe with the "new turn in favour of french affairs," and the sudden and unexplained change in the attitude of Russia and the "wise neutrality" of Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden and their "emulation to rule well their people."]

We hope America will enjoy internal peace as well as external, and be independent from any foreign influence whatsoever. I dare say that to understand our *neutral* language would not be a trivial help to prevent either english or french prejudices.

Excuse, dear Sir, my desultory digressions, and believe me to be with great esteem.

Your
most obedient humble Servant
C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

JULY 28, 1800.

[Refers to his last letter written about Sept. 3 last year (dated Sept. 7, 1799) and notes briefly its contents.]

Since that time I have not had of your letters, but have had the pleasure to see you are well, mention having been made in the newspapers of your Eulogium delivered in honor of your excellent Washington.

I take the liberty of sending you now a new Edition of my Geogr. V. I, unhappily a very clumsy copy printed on too thick paper, the others are on too bad paper, in order to sell cheap. You will find it perhaps enlarged too much. You know how

⁸Friedrich Eberhard Rambach, 1767-1826, author of many romances and dramas, and editor with others of the "Berliner Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks," 1795-1800.

much I owe to you, if I have made a good use of the valuable materials you furnished me with. I was obliged to study them somewhat in a hurry, as my occupations are now far increased by the direction of our public very large library, which even prevents me twice a week from dining. This may apologize for my short and intermitted correspondence.

You will I hope not retaliate by withholding from me your instructive and usefull letters. I am for this year allmost without any news from America. Perhaps the publishing my letter on the Illuminati under my name in the Aurora¹ as a letter to Dr. Morse was the cause that several did not dare to write to me out of fear to be thought to correspond with a Jacobine for, that many readers of my letter will think me to be such an abject being, I dont doubt. But as I know that I am nothing less than a Jacobine in the now prevalent sense of this word, but a true lover of peace, good government and true liberty—I don't care for opinions. I should only wish that this letter had not been printed so very uncorrectly, especially in names, and that something about german politics even of dead princes had been left out. Tho' true, *that* was not for the public.

Let me have soon the pleasure of seeing some lines from you and I dare add the petition to help me in finding out the last edition of "The laws of Rhode Island."² As I must prepare for a new Edition of my second volume, I cannot proceed without these laws. I have endeavoured to get them by way of New York but also invain; perhaps few copies were printed.

I wish for your most severe criticism of this my new Edition, particularly of the last part or of the history. I love truth even if it was only to be procured at my *authorical* expense.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

AUGUST 9, 1800¹

[The writer has sent the two volumes of a new edition of his Geography, and now sends three new numbers of *Le Nord*; also books for Dr. Bentley.

¹See the account of this in note 62 on p. 333.

²The public laws of the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Providence, 1798.*

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811. no. 86.

He adds the latest news on European affairs, the signing of the preliminaries of peace between France and Austria, and the capture of a Danish merchant fleet by English men of war.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

APRIL 14, 1801

[Regrets that apparently a parcel of books sent at the end of July 1800 and another sent to Mr. Eliot on Aug. 10 had both failed to arrive as well as the letters that accompanied them.]

I have received five of your boxes with their very valuable contents. Two by way of Amsterdam, two others with Newspapers, and the last by Capt. Dalling. I also received a letter by way of Copenhagen from you. . . . My present situation does not allow me to employ so much time on my Geography as formerly, therefore no new part has been published. I have sent an other copy to the book binder for you and a box is ready to be sent, I think by Capt Dalling. I shall entrust it to the kind care of Mr Pitcairn. The severe loss of a Friend¹ with whom I lived in the strictest connexion for thirty years, the great change of my manner of live, the loss of almost half my former revenue in so dear a time, all lies heavy upon me, otherwise I could do far more, and my correspondence would be more instructive and regular. Now I am just occupied by changing lodgings, which is a terrible affair when one has been 30 years in one house, entirely depending on a sincere friend and now left alone, to set up for myself without the least knowledge of oeconomy, besides with increasing sickly state of health. But heaven will assist me. When peace is returned will be better.

In the box I mentioned you will find 18 volumes of a german Review² which is reckoned to be a very good one. It is complete, was published under the direction of Professor Jöcher at Leipsic, who is Author also of a Dictionary of all the Learned of

¹Büsch, his partner in the Handlungsakademie.

²The "Deutsche Acta Eruditorum, oder Geschichte der Gelehrten welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Litteratur in Europa begreifen." 240 Theile, or 20 volumes. Leipsig, 1712-39. There are complete sets in Teachers' College and the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and in the John Crerar Library, Chicago. Jöcher's "Allgemeines Gelehrten-lexicon" was published at Leipsig, 1750-51, in four quarto volumes, a monumental but now little used book of reference.

all Nations 4 Volumes 4to. This Review will be wellcome I hope on account of the many good portraits of literati it contains. I also send a Specimen of our taste in binding in return. It is *de Lille* famous poem on rural oeconomy.³ Some english new translations with the german original poetry, some songs with Musik, english and German, Reinholds⁴ newest philosophical writings on a *third* new philosophy that last year sprung up in Germany. He was one of our best Kantians but is so inconsistant that he left him, went over to Fichte, whom he now leaves again for *Bardili*⁵ Professor at Stuttgart, and a great reformer (si Diis placet) of Logic: An Edition of Persius⁶ quite engraved on Copper may be a curiosity tho' not like Pine's Horace, Michaelis New Testament as far as it is out. Origenis Opera published by a very learned roman Catholik Professor *Oberthür* at Würzburg. Luciani Opera. Besides learned Newspapers.

Another Box will follow wherein you will find more new Books, as also a copy of my new Edition.

I see that America is now at rest, and that Mr Jefferson is President. We hope this will promote the peaceful state of your Country.

It was impossible till now to study all the very valuable Materials I owe to your kindness, but as soon as my new oeconomy is in order I shall begin to do it. Was peace restored to the world, I should also have more leasure and be happier. Oh if Kings knew how many happiness they would bestow on the world by avoiding war, which never is the choice of nations but of their rulers only!

You mention something concerning me to be found in the *Aurora*.⁷ I have not seen that Number. Perhaps it regards a letter of mine printed therein very incorrectly whereon I

³The Abbé Jacques Delille, 1738-1813, known as the *Virgile Français*. The work sent must have been his "Les jardins, ou l'Art d'embellir les paysages; poëme en IV chants, Paris, Didot aîné, 1782." His translation of the *Georgics* and many other poems were published later.

⁴Karl Leonhard Reinhold, 1758-1825, a follower of the latest fashions in philosophy.

⁵Christoph Gottfried Bardili. *Grundriß der ersten Logik*. Stuttgart, 1800.

⁶Sebald's edition published at Nuremberg in 1765.

⁷The letter or article mentioned has not been traced.

wrote to Rev Mr Miller and Dr Mitchil at New York only. Should they have inserted it? That was not my intention, except the correction of the faults of printing. Now all is at an end with Barruel etc in England, as their great protector Windham⁸ is no more in power.

I leave unwillingly the interview with a friend I should wish to converse with longer. Believe me to be with every great esteem and attachment.

Dear Sir
Your most obedient and obliged
Servant

EBELING

[on a separate slip, attached by a wafer]

Permit me kindly to add one observation, viz not to send by way of Amsterdam. The Boxes you sent me by that way I was obliged to pay between 14 and 15 Dollars freight for, as the Merchant at Amsterdam conveyed them to me *by land*, tho' I ordered him to send them by water. Happily he did not chuse the post carriage, which would have been ten times dearer. Amsterdam merchants are at present very great exactors. Pardon this remark. You could not know that nor your friends the american merchants.

TO DR. BENTLEY

APRIL 17, 1801

I had the honour, to write you a sennight ago by Capt Fairfield sailing from Bremen. This will go by Capt Lovett in the Schooner Betsy by the kindness of Mr Pitcairn.

[He recapitulates what he said in the last letter about the five boxes received and the parcels and letters sent the previous summer. He refers also to a letter of October or November and a parcel of books sent by way of Philadelphia which apparently was never received "as Mr. Leuffer, Merchant of Philadelphia, to whom it was directed, died before the Ship could arrive." This letter covers much the same ground as that of April 14, but in some cases adds particulars. Several portions are therefore omitted.]

⁸William Windham, 1750-1810, Secretary of War under Pitt, and a supporter of the French royalists, held office till February, 1801.

My occupations being entirely changed with my whole situation by the death of my best friend and Colleague Professor Busch (whose *Memoria* you will find in the Box written by another Colleague¹ upon the materials I furnished) made it impossible for me to write oftener and earlier. I feared also to cause you too much expenses by writing in a circuitous way. I have been obliged to set up for myself after having lived 40 years in other Families. I am single as death deprived me of a dear beloved bride in my younger years, and I could not be prevailed to search for another. Unacquainted with any economical concerns, in time of terrible dearness, obliged to change lodgings wherein I lived for 30 years, to begin my own economy allmost without ressources, (our Gymnasium, *incredibile dictu!* being reduced to 4 students as all apply to commerce) so to provide for double expences—this with the long lasting sickness of my friend—and my own weakness of health—double occupation at the public Library which my predecessor (a learned man, but too sanguineous and neglectfull) left in great confusion—all this took up my time entirely.

An excellent french poem of de Lille is intended as an acknowledgement for the Navigators and bound in the best german stile . . . I should wish it was in my power to present you with Heyne's new Virgil, but it coasts 120 marks. It is incomparable in taste and internal value. If ever it is to be got in an Auction I shall do my best to get it for you.

Reinholds new Philosophical Journal² I shall continue. Please to read my review in the Hambro gazette of this day Nr. 62 You will see that our new Philosophers shift everyday and now transfer the field of action from dreary Metaphysick regions to the Logick, which is threatened with a general revolution. It will be a happy event if philosophical truths *can* be brought to the same evidence with *mathematical* ones. *Bardili's* so much praised new Logick, I shall send per next, it is not yet here. I doubt whether it is so eminently excellent,

¹Joh. Heinrich Vincent von Nölting, 1735-1806, professor of logic, metaphysic and oratory in the Hamburg Gymnasium. His "Memoria" was entitled "Johann Georg Büsch wahr und ungeschmückt dargestellt." Hamburg, 1801.**

²Reinhold, with Bardili's help began the publication of "Beiträge zur leichteren Uebersicht des Zustandes der Philosophie." Six hefte were issued, 1801 to 1803.

tho' he is not a contemptible Philosopher. As to Illuminates (whom yours and the english Scriblers join to our Philosophers, but whom we think far different of one another) nothing is heard of them. Barruel and Robison's Books translated (as every book english or french is with us rapidly translated) met with universal derision. It is more than probable that all hue and cry about Illuminati is a monoeuvre of Jesuits, who wish to depreciate and make suspect german Litterature so diametrically opposite to their hidden Plans of introducing Barbarism and oppress light, in order that their Hierarchy may be restored in the Darkness. But time of Chivalry and Monkery is gone. Be carefull to read the reviews of the Berlin Monatschrift.

I take the liberty of sending you some specimen of my poetry on the beginning of the new Century which was a Jubilee for Hamburg, now existing just 1000 years.

I am sorry that I cannot as yet find out Grotius on America's original Inhabitants. I never could get it myself. I have written to Holland for it. . . .³

Please to ask Mr Eliot occasionally wether he got two parcels of mine, both went with those destined for you, of which one only reached you.

I have the honour to be with great esteem and thankfull friendship

Dear Sir
Your
most obedient humble Servant
C. D EBELING.

I have not yet found out what was inserted in the Aurora or other Gazettes on my Account. I was only asked whether a letter on the state of our litterature published in the Aurora was really mine. This I frankly confessed, only excepted some

³De origine gentium Americanarum dissertatio. Amsterdam, 1642. But see p. 374. Though Ebeling seems never to have obtained a copy of the original edition of the dissertation of Grotius for his own library, he did have the work of De Laet called forth by it the next year and incorporating its text, "Notae ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de origine gentium Americanarum; et observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficultimae illius quaestionis, Amstelodami, apud Lud. Elsvirium, 1643."* With this is bound a copy of De Laet's "Responsio" to the second dissertation by Grotius on the same subject, 1644.

great inaccuracies of the printer which disfigured even my very mind, for example by leaving out negative particles, that made me affirm strange things. When any thing is reprinted often such errors may be excusable, but the reader ought not to judge the writer upon them; and I feared many reader may not been candid enough, specially if the latter should be brought to Europe as the busy-body Jesuits may endeavour to do.

TO DR BENTLEY

JULY 12, 1801.

[Acknowledges the receipt of letters of July 5, 1800, February 16, May 1 and 14, 1801.] At the same time I got all the other Letters you so very kindly communicated to me, the Gazettes collected with such care, the valuable Books, of which those from Newhampshire Rh. Island and Nova Scotia were the more acceptable, as without your obliging exertions I never should have got them. Above all your own very instructive Remarks on my Geography, your Journal, your Letters and the notices they contain. I regret very much not to have delayed the publication of my new Edition of the first Volume, which would have enabled me to make use of them.

I sent you a Box by the kind care of Mr Pitcairn containing some books viz Michaelis N T. Zuverlässige Nachricht etc and another Letter by Capt Fairfield by way of Bremen. This letter, I hope will have assured you, that not the least discontent was felt by me on account of the publishing of my letter. I wrote a few Words to the worthy Dr Mitchill in order to acknowledge my being the Author of the Letter, as he and several other unprejudiced men required from me to explain myself on account of the Letter. I could not refuse it nor was I inclined to deny ever what I wrote; but as a certain party in Europe might have got the letter, and perhaps republish it in an english Newspaper, or officiously cause american ones wherein it was inserted, to be sent to any of the Princes who were mentioned in the Letter I added what circumspection made necessary that the whole Letter was not properly *intended* for the public, and many faults of printing to be met in some printed copies particularly that in the Aurora. The mentioning my name in that Copy, I suppose not to have

had the least design against me, but only to give the letter more faith with some, who know me. If my letter and name have done any good to the cause of truth, humanity and true liberty, I am very glad, and much obliged to you. So far am I from disliking its publication, which you remember I permitted at the same time when I wrote it, not waiting for your requisition, I hope that all who have been deluded by the Books of the Exjesuit Barruel, and by the weakness of Dr Robison will see their error especially by comparing Mouniers Book¹ against Barruel and R. which is just now published, and which I sent you unbound as I could not immediately get a bound copy. I shall also send a copy to Mr Eliot and even to Mr Morse as soon as occasion offers. [*Marginal note.* I have done it now together with this.] If the latter is in any way open to conviction and not incorrigible, he must yield. At the same time I send you *for publication* a translation of a review of Mouniers Book, published in the Göttingen *Anzeigen* [*Marginal note.* May be printed without my name]; this Review² I credibly am informed is written by one Mr B. who is in a high office at Hanover, a Man of talents, but no ways a friend of Revolutions, nor of democracy as his Political Reflexions on the french Revolution 1790 and on some allready sensible Effects of the French Revolution in Germany 1792-8, undoubtedly prove, who consequently is not partial against Barruel and Robison. But if even I was misinformed the Review itself and its publication in the dominions of the King of England shew its impartiality to every unprejudiced mind.

Perhaps you will find a Review also in the Gotha Zeitungen which I now send you as complete as I could make them. Unhappily they were mislaid at my former sendings. You have mentioned several Books which I shall be very carefull to procure you. Grotius is extremely scarce, I never could get it. You have Hornius³ and de Laet on the Origin of Americans, I

¹J. J. Mounier. *De l'influence attribuée aux philosophes, aux francs-maçons et aux illuminés sur la révolution de France.* A Tubingen, 1801.* The copy sent to Dr. Bentley passed into the hands of Professor Convers Francis in 1820, after Bentley's death, and was bequeathed by him, with other books, to the Harvard Divinity School in 1863.

²This review from the "Göttingische Anzeigen," 1801, nr. 99, pp. 977-986, translated by Ebeling, is bound in the volume with Ebeling's letters and covers seven closely written small octavo pages. Whether it was printed in any American publication I do not know.

³Georg Horn, 1620-1670. *De originibus Americanis libri quatuor.* Lugd. Bat. 1652*.

suppose, otherwise I can send them. Klopstock's Odes⁴ are in the Box together with some printed in the new Orthography proposed by him which tho' very rational, was not liked by the majority. I should send you his Messiah printed in the same way, which may help a foreigner to fix his pronunciation according to the best model, but I fear it will be too difficult for you to read as it is even to most of the Germans. Therefore I have ordered the newest Edition⁵ to be bound for you and hope to get it before this is sent on board.

Voss Translation of Vergil⁶ is excellent as the notes are; only he is somewhat too bold in changing our construction now and then, in order to observe the better the prosody, and in order to express the latin almost verbatim. His versification is equal to that of Klopstock, and his Hexameters rather too anxiously imitates the ancients in point of *Caesura* and rhythmus at the expense now and then of the Genius of our language. Klopstock, his friend, lately made a very warm Ode against his encroachments upon our language. He is now new translating Homers Iliad. The Odyssey I send you hereby.⁷

Rabeners Satires⁸ are models of fine German Prose.

The Reichsanzeiger, as also our Addressblätter which are published now under my direction I shall send you regularly.⁹ You will find now and then something interesting. Linné by Gmelin¹⁰ is intirely out of print, he prepares a new Edition, which I shall not fail to send you, as soon as it appears. I am in hopes that Adelungs Dictionary will now soon be continued, as he announced it, which will enable me to send it you.

I shall write more amply as soon as I have overcome an exceedingly troublesome business, which is the more so as it requires haste. Our board of Admiralty (as it is called; for

⁴Oden. Hamburg, 1771.**

⁵Der Messias. Altona, 1780.**

⁶Georgicon libri quatuor. Übersetzt und erklärt von J. H. Voss. Altona, 1800. 2 vol.**

⁷Odüsse; übersetzt von J. H. Voss. Hamburg, 1781.**

⁸Gottlieb Wilhelm Rabener, 1714-1771. Satiren, 4^e Aufl. Leipzig, 1759.**

⁹"Der Reichs-Anzeiger, oder Allgemeines Intelligens-Blatt zum Behuf der Justiz, der Polizey und der bürgerlichen Gewerbe im Teutschen Reiche," Gotha, 1800-1806.** Individual members are entitled "Kaiserlich privilegirter Reichs-Anzeiger. Hamburgischer Address-Comtoir Nachrichten," 1801-11.**

¹⁰Karl Christian Gmelin. Apparently his "Hortus magni ducis Badarum Caroloruhanus" is meant, of which the first edition was printed in 1791 and a second in 1800.

we had a navy and I have still seen our last Fregat of 42. At present we have only a Sloop [not] adapted for war but properly for the excursions of our naval officers on reviewing the naval buildings on the Elb-shore, at Cuxhaven etc.) This board of Admiralty, which is as rich as our much indebted treasury is poor, has purchased the library of my late friend Busch, together with his large physical and mathematical Apparatuſ and made a present thereof to our Gymnasium and public Library. (It costs 15000 Bismarks)¹¹ This I must have transported, brought into order, make catalogues of it, and insert 3400 Books at least into double Catalogues (realis et nominalis) of our Library All this must be done before end of Octobre, and all other business besides. Good Heaven give me health and patience! for I am obliged to do allmost all by myself.

I am very sorry that this made it imposible to me to make the personal acquaintance of Mr Donaldson. I wrote him a Letter in order to invite him but unhappily too late, as the Ship was gone. This is the reason also why I send this by way of Boston.

I am called to send away the box wherein all this goes.

I hope soon to write again and am with great esteem, thankfulness and friendship

Reverend Sir
Your
most ob. h. Servant
EBELING.

As all goes by way of Boston I must send this with all other packages for you in the box of Mr Eliot otherwise it will arrive too late. I shall beg Mr E to send it by the first opportunity.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

JULY 14, 1801¹

REVEREND SIR

A few days ago I had the pleasure of getting your letters of June 5th 1800 and April 28th 1801 by the same Captain. Both were sent to me by a Merchant, Mr Haupt, from whom I learnt that the Captain made his first Voyage to Hamburg. The

¹¹The double mark was a common silver coin in Hamburg from about 1764 to 1808.

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 87.

first letter was accompanied with Prince's Book² and seemd to have been long time on board as all was quite mouldy. I mention this in ordre to enable you to trace the causes of the delay, as also to excuse my not being able to give You my thanks for your very kind present. I should be very glad to hear by what sort of German production of our Litterature I may be able to shew my thankfullness.³ In the mean time you will be so kind, as to accept of Mounier's Book, which may be very interesting to Americans at present. You will see that it in a great measure confirms my letter. It does not deviate much from my opinions, nor contradict my facts, I alledge. Only as to Bahrtdt⁴ I differ, as you may see by comparing my letter. Mounier could not be acquainted with Bahrtdt's real talents and good learning, but heard only of his immoral live, bad conduct, and misapplication of talents, which are notorious and survived his few merits.

As to our Friend's publishing my Letter I have not the least objection to it, but even allowed it expressly. I only should have wished that some expressions had been left out, pardonable in a friendly correspondence, but not fit for *European* readers, tho' American ones may easily excuse them. But how could I pretend that my friend should be acquainted with our restrictions of the freedom of the press, and our narrow Ideas about it? that he should suspect my printed letter should find its way to Europe? It is my fault, that I forgot to point out to him, the parts to be ommitted.

But as the Letter seems to have done some good to destroy prejudices, I am satisfied. Yesterday I wrote a long letter to Dr Morse sending him Mounier; I wish he would be so kind as to let you read it. It might explain my opinions and some new facts, for Example, that the present Elector of Bavaria has restablished several of the *first* Illuminati named in Robison's Book, as *Babo* etc, and who were persecuted formerly as such, to their employments. I should send you some Reviews of

²See p. 000.

³In his next brief letter to Eliot, July 24, 1801, he writes: "You will tell me what kind of Books printed in Germany may be acceptable to you, except those written in our tongue. For Books is the only what we poor Litterati can offer to our benefactors." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corresp. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 88.)

⁴See p. 319.

Barruel's and Mounier's Books written by very impartial Men and no friends of innovations, nor of any Orders, who highly disapprove of the Jesuit's book, and praise Mounier's. That Barruel's is put into the Index Librorum prohibitorum at Vienna is an undoubted fact. This Jesuit is so inconsequent that he makes the two Brethern Count Stolbergs,⁵ with the Minister Cobenzl to be Illuminati. The first were known to be great Enemies to the French Revolution, tho' their excellent poetical works are full of sentiments of liberty [and] hate of despotism. Yet the younger Brother in his printed Travels thro' Italy is an absolute abettor of hereditary nobility, as a declared enemy of all what is French now. And what is still worse, this same Count Stolberg lately went over to the Roman Catholic Creed, abjured Lutheranism, left his country, his offices at the Court of the Duke of Holstein and retired to Munster the dark abode of Superstition. He was seduced by jesuitical intrigues and a Countess Galitzin who lives at Munster, and in other Respects is a learned Lady. Our great poet Klopstock not long after received a Letter from another Lady of the same persuasion and high rank, in order to invite him, "who sang so much in praise of Maria, the Mother of our Saviour," to come over and profess the Roman Catholick religion. But his answer was, that he shewed them in his Messiah several Passages against papistical superstitions, especially the adoration of Mary. So they let him alone. It is very particular that the Roman Catholics are very busy at present to extend their Church dominions. In Sweden they have introduced *Missionaries* (as if to heathen.) intended to publish a Catechism under the name of *Christian Doctrine*, but were hindered by Government and only allowed to print it with the title Catechism of the roman Catholic Creed. All copies were to be stamped and laid down in a Bureau of Government only to be distributed to Roman Catholick Children.

[He adds a brief discussion of European politics and refers to Nelson's costly victory over the Danish fleet, and to the end of the Danish occupation of Hamburg.]

But I avoid to enter into politics. I should be only glad to

⁵Christian (b. 1748) and Friedrich Leopold (b. 1750) Grafen zu Stolberg.

know, how the Change of your Government goes on. Is all quiet? Is the Spirit of Party subsiding? Where does it prevail, and which? The federalists will perhaps see that French Interest and revolutionary Principles do not direct Jefferson and his friends. Is the late president now left in peace, is he himself resigned to his fate? All such questions occur to me, which I cannot answer myself. I only am attentif to the measures of the present Government, which seems to have a similarity to those of the new Emperor of Russia as to the principles of Neutrality, national frugality, etc. You will clear up my Ideas occasionally if you are at leisure and thereby oblige very much

Reverend Sir

Your

most obdt humble Servant

C D EBELING.

P. S.

Having missed unhappily an opportunity to send directly to Salem for Mr Bentley a Collection of German Books and Newspapers I don't know any way to forward them to him but by your kind help. I therefore make bold to direct all to you and even let all the Books open in the Box packed up. Leaving all what is intended for Boston in the upper part so that without any trouble you may take them out and close the Box again. I only beg the favour that you may take the small parcel for Mr Bentley signed † † and send it by the first opportunity as I wish he may have it soon. You will add thereby to the many obligations I owe you.

C. D. EBELING

To the Mass. Society⁶

¹) Le Nord. See p. 344.

²) Olof Swartz, a Swedish botanist. The Oration mentioned must have been his "Intrådes-tal, innehållande anmärkningar om Vestindien; hållet för Kongl. Vetenskaps Academien, den 18 Martii 1789. Stockholm, 1790." I find no English or German translation mentioned. Ebeling had in his own library a work by Swartz entitled, "Observationes botanicae quibus plantae Indiae Occidentalis . . . illustrantur. Erlangae, 1791."*

³) "Historia antipodum" is the title given to some of the parts of De Bry's Voyages "redacta studio J. J. Gottofridi."

1. Le Nord. to complete the sets sent.
2. Swarz Oration containing Remarks on Westindia
3. Gotfried Historia Antipodum or the New World. fol.
a very scarce tho' imperfect and faulty History.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

APRIL 22, 1802¹

Long time I hoped invain for an opportunity to write you directly by a Ship sailing for your City. But no Ship is here bound for Boston, neither expected soon. I therefore send this by way of New York hoping it will not be expensive to you. I have the honour to answer your kind letter from Jan. 31. of this year.

Inclosed you find Mr Pitcairn's Answer. Perhaps the Box has reached you allready, otherwise our worthy Friend Rev Mr Bentley will help you to recover it.

I have written a long Letter² to our Friend [i. e. Dr Bentley] inclosed in One of two large Boxes wherein I send him the Universal german Library of Nicolai that famous Book and Enemy of Robison and the bugbear held out by his adherents to frighten all Germans. The old Library³ began in 1764 and ended in 1796 It is contained in 139 volumes. The authors were allways more than 60 at a time unknown mostly to one another, living in every part of Germany, Copenhagen, Konigsberg, Vienna, Berlin, Helvetia, Amsterdam. Many or most of them presented in effigie before each part one. The new Library I could not yet send complete, but shall have an opportunity to complete soon. It is still going on. You will do me a great favour to let Rev Mr Bentley know this, as it is at present impossible to write him myself. In the Box is a Roll of Maps for you. One of them please to offer with my Respects to Governour Strong. It is a map of Massachusetts, which was made before I knew of the newest State-map, but

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 89.

²This letter to Bentley apparently has not been preserved. In it Ebeling must have written at some length about Robison's letter to him complaining of slanderous statements.

³See p. 314. The collection was continued under the title, "Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek," covering the period, 1792-1804. Kiel, 1793-1800; Berlin, 1801-06, 107 vols. Published at Berlin by Nicolai, at Kiel by C. E. Bohn.

which I hope shall be found exact as to the Coasts and Islands, if not so much as to the inner part. The materials were furnished by myself.⁴

In my letter joined to the Roll I have written at large as also to Mr Bentley about a Letter⁴ received from Professor Robison, [to] whom was sent an American Paper wherein under my name he was accused of forgery, adultery, etc. Such criminal slander never came into my head and never could be written by me. If it really exists (Mr Robison did not quote the Paper⁵ and I never saw such a one) it will certainly be disavowed by all my friends and I hope they will think me incapable of such

⁴This refers to the large map of Massachusetts "entworfen. von D. F. Sotzmann, Hamburg bey Carl Ernst Bohn." The copy in the American Antiquarian Society has written on it in Ebeling's hand, "To the Rev. Mr. Bentley, by his friend the Editor, C. D. E." See p. 289, note.

⁵The slanderous charges against Robison were in the "American Mercury" of Sept. 26, 1799, and are there distinctly ascribed to Ebeling. (See p. 333.) A copy of this issue is in the file of this paper originally in Ebeling's library. Perhaps Bentley withheld it at the time of publication but was prevailed upon to send it later.

Robison's letter (the original document apparently) was sent on by Ebeling with his letter of Nov. 19, 1804, and is now bound in the same volume with Ebeling's own letters.

A synopsis of the letter, which is dated Boghall, Oct. 21, 1801, will not be out of place at this point. The writer states that more than a year before he had received "an American Gazette containing a letter said to be written by you to a Clergyman of literary reputation." He took no notice of the letter at the time thinking it "not likely to make any serious impression on the public Mind," but he is now informed that "its assertions meet with credit even among sensible Men." He therefore feels compelled to offer Ebeling an opportunity to free himself from the "odious character of a malicious Slanderer," and proceeds to repeat in some detail the charges set down in the "American Mercury" of Sept. 26, 1799—that the book had no reputation and was a catchpenny thing, that its facts were known to none but the author, that the author "had lived too fast for his income and, to supply his deficiencies, had ventured to alter a Bank Bill," that he was detected and being warned by his friends had made his escape to France, that in France he had applied for his second degree in masonry but was refused because he had been expelled from the lodge of Edinburgh, and that being refused admission also in Germany and Russia he entertained the bitterest hatred of freemasonry, that after wandering about Europe he had written to Secretary Dundas offering to make himself useful to the Ministry by his pen, and that, the Secretary thinking his book would favor the design of the Ministry by keeping the nation in alarm, the fugitive Professor returned in triumph and now lives on a handsome Pension instead of being hanged for forgery. Robison also stated that the gentlemen from America told him that Professor Ebeling had since made still more serious charges of the grossest immorality. He points out that Ebeling's atrocious falsehoods will be detected the moment he chooses to publish this letter. He therefore demands that he will without delay either acknowledge himself the author of the letter—"to a Dr. Morse, I think"—or deny it. In the former case he must make known "the names of those Scoundrels who have so much abused your confidence and vilified my character." He sends this letter by the hands of a friend who will also take care of the answer, but he asks that an answer be also sent by post. He will wait three weeks before taking further action.

Ebeling's "inclosed paper" does not appear in the files with this letter. Whether it ever found its way into print I do not know. It was presumably some formal denial of the statements attributed to him.

mean behaviour. I beg you therefore to prevail on any newspaper writer (or persuade Mr Bentley to do the same,) which I am sure his friendship will not refuse me) to insert the inclosed paper. Friends of mine who are Masons know Mr Robison personally and give him the best moral Character tho' he is strangeley prejudiced in all matters relating to his Proofs. [*Marginal note.* It interests me that you should have got the Box soon, as it contained Mounier's Book refuting Robison's dreams, for you, for Mr Bentley and for Mr Morse. Perhaps this book may operate conviction in the latter, which my letters could not produce.]

I have answered him openly that I so little know about his person that I serously believed he the author of the proof was an english Clergyman of the high Church, not even supposing the Author of a great Part of the New british Encyclopedia was the same with the Author of the Proofs. But that I adhered to my opinion on the latter, tho' I detested the calumnies which he said were attributed to me.

I did not conceal him my surprise of his not quoting the name and number of the Paper in question, and even suspected his own letter to be not genuine as it was brought me by a pretended friend of his. The letter was only subscribed by Mr Robison (and this subscription I lately found out to be genuine by comparison of another letter of his written to another) I thought it really a trick of Barruel's. I therefore answered it by the post as well as by the friend to whom I shewed my genuine letter which he found irreproachable. Sic saepe de nihilo magna nascitur historia. Should you ever have heard of or seen any other letter under my name wherein really were such calumnies as I never wrote, you will oblige me by sending it me occasionally. I never found any tho' by Mr Bentley's Kindness I have a great many American newspapers.

[His parting compliments and references to other boxes to be sent off are partly illegible owing to the paper's being torn.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

MAY 10 1802

DEAR SIR

I have just now received your kind letter from March 25th

...

Your kindness in sending me the Laws of Massachusetts and the medical Repository is certainly too great¹. There was no harm in directing a box for me to Amsterdam; the Dutch Merchant was only in fault by sending it by land. But you should not atone for it. I consider myself therefore as your debtor, and send you now something in return which I hope will be acceptable² as it now very seldom is found complete and may serve for a great many German Books and give a general Idea of our literature. The portraits of most of the Authors of the Reviews are engraven at the head of the Volumes. The wanting Volumes of the new set, I shall be careful to complete as soon as occasion offers, they mostly being out of print also.

In my next letter I will write more at large. Dr Eliot will have sent you a few words about me. I was anxious that Box did not reach you; Therefore wrote once more to him, but now hear from him it is arrived. The Unbelievers will I hope now believe; for Mounier is no German and impartial at least. When you hear about my correspondence with Robison you will wonder. But I owed it to truth and to myself to clear him and me from the blame of slander. Yet I doubt still whether even this slander laid at my doors, exists really. Neither I nor our American Postmaster, nor Mr Pitcairn have ever read in your American Newspapers any such things imputed to *me*³. Should R. be imposed upon at new? You know perhaps what made him write his book: He is a schoolmate of Minister Windham, who instigated him to write his Proofs. That explains all.

I must close this letter as the Ship is ready to sail. I recommend myself to your Friendship being with great Esteem

Dear Sir

Your

most obdt. humble Servant

C D EBELING

¹Laws of Massachusetts. 1780-1800. 2 vols. Boston, 1801*. The Medical Repository. New York, 1797-1822. 22 vols. were published. Ebeling's friend Dr. S. L. Mitchill was one of the editors of the first twenty volumes.

²He evidently means the set of the "Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek," mentioned in a previous letter.

³See the note 62 on p. 333 and what Ebeling says of Robison's letter on p. 362.

TO DR BENTLEY

NOVEMBER 19, 1804.

DEAR SIR

There was a long chasm in our Correspondence by my fault. I am sorry that it happened, but shall not longer delay to close it, at least as far [as] a letter may do. I won't abuse of your patience by alledging my excuses. They were a sickly state of health, the grief which was caused me by the fate of my mother country where my family lives, viz the Hannoverian country, and the increasing occupations together with the decreasing of years and forces. Please to consider that at present I have only six hours per day left to my self for exercise, breakfast, dinner, supper, studies, correspondence, visits and other occupations separate from my offices. This at the same time will account for my backwardness in the continuation of my American Geography. But I have now a prospect before me, that the most of my complaints will be remedied, especially that of time. Another hinderance in our friendly intercourse was the blockade of the Elbe. This was the cause why so very few or none of the Massachusetts ships came to Tönning,¹ Frederickstadt and other ports where our commerce found a precarious and scanty help. I had given order to several merchants at those places immediately to let me know when ships from your ports arrived there, I was informed thereabout also by our ship-lists but never found any ship from Salem or Boston arrived there. Amsterdam where they came to, is too far, the expences of freight customs enormous and the dangers of visitations, confiscations and other vexations too great. But your kindness has shewn me a way which will open again our commercial intercourse, if I may call it so.

First let me acknowledge, Dear Sir, your great kindness, which really makes me blush very much. I have received your Letter dated May 1804 with another dated June 9th with a box of papers and books, by Mr. Silsbee² from Rotterdam which he

¹Tönning, at the mouth of the River Eider, and Friedrichstadt, a little way up the river, both in Schleswig-Holstein.

²Nathaniel Silsbee, Jr., of Salem, 1773-1835, in early life a shipmaster and supercargo, later a prominent merchant and Representative and Senator in Congress, 1817-1835.

His letter to Ebeling, dated Rotterdam, Oct. 2, 1804, Ebeling sent on to Bentley, Silsbee regrets not being able to deliver personally the letter and box entrusted to him. "Being now about to embark for my native country, I have sent [the box] to Amsterdam and caused the same to be shipt to you from there by the inland navigation."

sent me in October. Before that I had received two boxes in August with several packages by way of Kiel so that I suppose they came via Copenhagen. And lately I got by the same way 5 boxes and two parcels. When I wrote to the merchant at Kiel, who forwarded them, inquiring what I owed him for freight, he answered, that all was paid for. This, Dear Sir, is indeed too much kindness, and I am sure you must be at great expenses for my sake, especially as the customs are often valued by the number of parcels and as the contents were not marked on the outside, the customhouse officers are at liberty to rank the boxes parcels amongst those which the highest charged. I shall do my best to make good for it, and have begun to do so. One Box, first destined to go via Tönningen is now with another ordered to go to Kiel and Copenhagen where the same Mr. Nyberg who forwarded your boxes will take the care of sending them *free of all expenses* to you. Another Box is preparing. Those sent contain Allgemeine Literaturzeitung, many volumes of the Göttinger Zeitung which are our best, but very seldom to be met with. I call them the best, because most of the Göttingen professors have their part in the Reviews and because the library of the University furnishes them with the newest and most valuable and precious books of every country. I shall take very particular care to procure you those which are wanting as soon as occasion offers, they never are sold by booksellers, but only printed for the subscribers. The Academy of Sciences of Göttingen is the Director of the whole. Besides these I send the Gotha newspapers still preserving their value, as also the last year of those of Erfurt, which is dropt, as the whole University will be annihilated since the town is subject to the King of Prussia, who has already near it the celebrated University of Halle and two others in his more eastern dominions at Francfort on the Oder, and at Königsberg. I send also the new Berlinischer Monatschrift by Biester and Nicolai.³

You will find some collections of Zollikofer's sermons⁴, of Spalding's⁵ his worthy and excellent rival and friend, who

³For the papers mentioned see the notes on pp. 308, 316, 335.

⁴Zollikofer. Predigten. 3^e Aufl. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1772.**

⁵Joh. Joachim Spalding. Predigten. 3^e Aufl. Berlin, 1775.**

lately died in old age. You will find his life in one of the Berlin gazettes at the end. I have joined some of Klopstock's Dramas and his Psalms, excellent in point of poetry, tho' too much adherents of the old orthodoxy, which to be sure is more poetical, than the more philosophical religion we now enjoy, which gives little room to fancy and imagination. The last volume of Adelung's Dictionary is joined likewise and several others, whereof you will find a note in the boxes.

I wish it was in my power to return your great kindness in selecting fresh papers and giving a list of them which particularly merit your attention. As soon as I get a little relief I shall make it my particular care to read every paper and mark those which I wish you may attend to.

Unhappily I have mislaid the list of those parts of the *Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* which I already have sent you; for I wish to complete it as soon as possible. Therefore I beg you will send me the numbers of the volumes you have already, that I may avoid duplicates.

Our literature is at a stand. Great many books are published but very few good ones. Romances, plays innumerable. The most modern Philosophy (for we have them by dozen every year) is a mixture of Schelling's, Bardili's etc. and Fichte is now almost forgotten. The present philosophy is as sceptical as possible and allows scarce the existence of any thing, and of any criterion of truth. It destroys and creates nothing in the place of what is destroyed. That is the spirit of our days. But all that is transitory with us, and has only influence on those who are moved by every wind of doctrine, and are not able to think for themselves.

Our poetry is at a stand too. Now and then a drama but scarce any of excellence. One of a Hambro lady I have sent you in one of the boxes.⁶ It has some fine verses, but no plot, no tragical power pervading the whole, no characters sustaining themselves.

The political writing fury is over, perhaps the great restriction of the liberty of the press in all those countries who by their too near situation are forced to fear a neighbouring omnipo-

⁶Probably Charlotte Corday. By Mme. Westphalen. See p. 376.

tence, is in some respect the cause, but the mind becoming cooler after feeling their disappointed hopes may be another cause more efficient.

In Bavaria the religious and literary reforms are going on. The universities are crowded with new professors of every religious and philosophical sect. They begin to tolerate one another, but there is still a jesuitical underhand machination to sow dissensions, to calumniate, and to make the wise government tired of their reformatations. Professor Paulus, one of the most learned lutheran professors at Jena is now at Wurzburg and teaches with great applause, even to roman catholick auditors, which casues great jealousy. Mr *Voss* at Jena, our best living poet and an excellent scholar (translator of Homer, Virgil, Ovid) was invited to Bavaria in order to inspect the general reformation of Schools, but having allready accepted the vocation, he retracted having seen unsurmountable difficulties to obtain such a desirable end. The hereditary prince of Bavaria⁷ after having finished his studies in his country's universities went to complete them at Göttingen. He made an excursion hither with his Governor, he was also at our library and has made us a valuable present of Bavarian historical medals. He is certainly well intentioned to continue what his father begun, but I fear they will overrule his youth. That the Illuminati no more are spoken of in Bavaria you may suppose. You see now the effects of their intentions; the downfall of popery. Thence the hue and crye about them from the Ex jesuits and their deluded Friends. The principal of the surviving accused of Illuminatism are now long ago restored to their employments, and several have got more conspicuous ones. But Weishaupt is not recalled, nor do I believe any other of those who fled, which were not many. As I make mention of these phantoms of terror I must tell you that you will find a copy of Mr. Robinson's letter to me⁸ in a parcel I have sent you. I will not revive the controversy, but think it may serve you as well in manuscript, in order to shew

⁷Afterwards Ludwig I, King of Bavaria from 1825 to 1848 when he abdicated; a patron of art and learning; to him Munich owes its distinction as an art centre. Born 1786, died 1868.

⁸See p. 362. Where Ebeling's answer was printed I do not know.

what forced me, to answer him in such terms, as he chuse to make publick in America. I was in the right to do the same, but will not retaliate. The Exjesuit Barruel, who is now a flattering insect that wishes to approach the new Throne, is now quite silent about Illuminates etc. I suppose the Jesuits have obtained their hidden aim. They made a noise like the jugglers that people may not see their underhand play. Now they have obtained their reestablishment in Naples too, they hope to be restored in the Austrian dominions, but certainly will be disappointed in France tho' they crept in under the name of the Scholars of Jesus and other names. The new Emperor has forbidden the admission of any monastical order, and namely those mentioned. On the other side the Roman Catholics id est the Jesuitical caste are making attempts or preparing them rather for an union of Churches. They think the unsettled state of protestantism as it appears to them, will offer a good occasion for their endeavours. But it will turn out to nothing as all former, when even the great Leibniz thought it a possibility that Roman Cath and protestants could be joined *in faith* even for a moment unless one or both renounce their leading principles. How are you with the Roman Catholics now in America? That you have allways had Jesuits in Maryland especially is certain, but are they seen to act, as prsoelyte-catchers, or introducing monastical clubs and convents? Heaven beware good America from the monkish pestilence for ever. They are going on to be reduced every where in Germany even in the R. Cath dominions, more so in those lands that were comprised in the indemnisation scheme.

[He goes on to speak of political rumors and the approaching coronation of Napoleon as Emperor, returning to the subject of books and literature.]

But dearness increases everywhere in Germany. Books for example which 40 years ago had a general and common price at 24 sheets for $\frac{1}{4}$ dollar in London, are now at 3 or at the best 4 sheets at the same price. Those printed in very elegant manner on velin in quarto with few engravings are at an enormous price. Klopstock's works just now publishing at 10 Dollars a volume. Wieland's cost almost 400 dollars. A greek new Testament is publishing now, really excellent under

Griesbach's direction in 4 quarto volumes which will cost 120 marcs or 40 dollars. An edition of Homer by Wolf will be of the same price. One of Heyne of the Iliad with a very ample commentary costs the best edition 50 dollars. This edition has occasioned a terrible noise in many newspapers excited by Mr. Wolf's friends. Wolf⁹ is a pupil of Heyne. This worthy old man, has the feebleness to think his pupils never come to majority, this makes many of them very ungratefull. So Mr. Wolf who hastened to prevent [i. e. forestall] Heyne's edition. His critical taste is masterly and in many things he surpasses his old teacher. But when the Homer of the latter appeared Wolf's friends and perhaps himself treated the learned man as a schoolboy with an exacerbated severity. One review in the *Allgem. Litteraturzeitung* was extended to seventeen sheets! But you know *criticor. canes*. They were ever so.

As I am for about two years without any letters of most of my correspondents in America, at Boston (only one letter I received from Dr. Eliot) at New York, Philadelphia, Charleston etc. you may think how I feast upon your kind sendings of pamphlets and newspapers. My newest part of the Geogr. and History is in the Box. I *begin* now first to write that of Virginia, so much my situation has retarded my diligence. Want of so many materials as I wished for, was [one] of the causes.

[The final sentence is mutilated, the paper being torn by the seal.

The difficulties and uncertainties of transatlantic communication are illustrated by this letter. It was addressed by Ebeling "free via Amsterdam." A letter from van Staphorst and Co. of Amsterdam, dated March 12, 1805, reads:

"Your esteemed Favour of Nov. 19th has come to hand in due time, and we would certainly have given ourselves the honour of replying sooner to it, had not since all that time the Ice put an entire Stagnation to Navigation and prevented us to forward your Enclosure to Salem. We now have the pleasure to inform

⁹Friedrich August Wolf, 1759-1824. His Prolegomena to Homer was printed in 1795 while he was professor at Halle. He had studied under Heyne at Göttingen, 1777-79. Heyne's edition of Homer, in 9 volumes was printed at Leipzig in 1802-22, Wolf's Homer at the same place, 1804-07 in 4 volumes.

you that we forwarded the same via Providence R. I. by the Ship Charlotte, John Manchester Master, and hope it will duly reach its Direction."

The letter bears the American postmark "Providence, May 22."]

TO DR. BENTLEY

JUNE 29, 1805.

[The writer speaks of four letters received from his correspondent, and of five boxes from Copenhagen at the very moment when he had to send off his letter to Captain Ward. (The next letter, July 4, likewise sent by Captain Ward, corrects and repeats statements made in this letter.) He refers to two boxes "which had lain long time at Tonningen," but were finally forwarded to Copenhagen that they might find ships for Salem. From his letter sent at the same time, November 19, 1804, he recapitulates the account of letters and boxes received, but fears that he has not received all that have been sent.]

Yet the many that reached me already require my gratitude. Mr Ward a very lovely young man, was very welcome to me. He will tell you how I live. I am happily mostly recovered of a very dangerous rheumatical cough which befell me in our publick library a cold stone-building during last winter. But cold weather brings now and then a little return and old age approaching helps it. Yet I am thank God in good spirits.

My America goes on slowly You will find the last volume in one of the two Boxes which Mr Ward will be so kind as to bring you. Another copy you will occasionally send to Rev Mr Elliot, to whom I shall write very soon.

My business overwhelms me, and you may consider how urgent it is, because I dine every day at 6 o'clock in the evening, rise at 6 in the morning, deliver my lectures at 7 and 9, go at 10 to the library where I remain till 6 o'clock. Little time is remaining during the vacancies every quarter for book writing and reading, or Correspondence. This is very great as Hambro' is a place much resorted to, and many learned make use of our library even in very distant parts. About this library you

will find some account in a *Skizzen von Hamburg*¹ in the latest box.

I sent you

1. *Litteratur Zeitung*² from 1794, 1800 and 1801 with the Revision of Literature. These Litterary Newspapers are very scarce and seldom complete. They are published at Jena (this year at Halle), and contain particularly the Kantian philosophical creed. Griesbach writes the articles concerning Bible. Many others are very valuable.
2. *Göttingische Anzeigen*³ 1764, 2 volumes 1776, 1786-1799, without doubt our best critical paper, but not complete enough what regards german literature. This also is now never to be got *complete* (it goes on since 1739) but at very high price, 100 and more dollars. The reason is because these papers appear weekly, are sent by the post, and often miscarried, mislaid by the possessor, lend out. I have joined to this letter the title pages of several third volumes belonging to them. I shal take care to complete the set occasionally.
3. *Berliner Monatschrift*⁴ 1804 and 1805 which I shal continue.

The *allgemeine Biblioth.* will be finished this year. Nicolai's old age requires rest. It is a great loss to our literature. It resisted most effectually to our increasing bad philosophy. You will find several parts of the *Berlin Monatschr.* in duplo. Therein is contained an anti anglican letter which may be translated for your news papers.

4. *Gotha*⁵ July 1774 (the first year), 1775, 1802, 1803 and 1804. The last sheet will shew you that this valuable paper is dropt. The Bookseller died. So is that of

¹Skizzen zu einem Gemälde von Hamburg. [By F. J. L. Meyer] Hamburg, 1801-02.** 6 hefte (nos. 3, 4 and 5 lacking).

²See p. 335.

³Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen, 1764, 1776, 1801**; Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1802-1809.** The Harvard Library has also later volumes, from another source.

⁴See p. 316.

⁵See p. 296.

Erfurt⁶ at an end with the University as the King of Prussia now possessor of Erfurt, cannot well entertain two Universities so very near to one another, and Halle being far more considerable and much frequented, Erfurt not at all so.

5. About the other books and Gazettes a few words. In the Berlin Gazettes I have marked with a red pencil many remarkable articles, lives of litterati etc. So I have done in others, when it was possible to me to read them.
6. Villaume, *Vereinbarkeit der Juden*⁷ teaches us the state of that nation in Germany, which begins to be emancipated and to emerge from its [*word illegible*] and low manners, as the Christians begin to be more humane. There are at present two very diligent and skillfull young Jews amongst my Scholars at the Gymnasium which ten years ago I would not have been allowed to teach publicly! [*Marginal note.* The author was professor at Berlin but during the mystical reign abdicated himself, grew enthusiastic for the french Revolution, brought three of his Sons to the french Republic's Army, one was killed, two returned after some years, disappointed. He himself is at present at the head of a very good Burgher-school in the danish Island Fyen.]
7. *Nordische Miscellaneen*⁸, publishing here, with several good, political treaties, others shewing our present state of Hambrgh, trade etc.

Wolke, *Judsche Singedichte*⁹ only as a specimen of lower german as it is spoken in the country here about til in Westphalia. A whim to revive that dying language, but which is harmonious and flexible.

⁶See p. 308.

⁷Peter Villaume. *Vereinbarkeit der Juden mit andern Nationen*. I. Hamburg, 1804.** Presentation copy to Ebeling. Ebeling sent several of Villaume's text-books to Bentley.—*Praktisches Handbuch für Lehrer in Bürger- Land- und Soldaten-Schulen*. 2e Aufl. Hamburg, 1800.**—*Lesebuch für Bürgerschulen*. Hamburg, 1801.**—*Methode junge Leute zum schriftlichen Ausdruck ihrer Gedanken zu bilden*. Neue Aufl. Hamburg, 1804.**

⁸*Nordische Miscellen*. Bd. II-IV. Hamburg, 1804-05.**

⁹Christian Heinrich Wolke, *Düdsage ör Sässische Singedichte*. Leipzig, 1804.

8. Velthusen, Pokeach Iwrim¹⁰ and another book of him, which are said to contain much of masonry. I cannot understand it at all, the stile is exceedingly confuse.
9. Songs of Maçons, many very poetical ones, and allmost all intelligible even to an exotic.
10. Wegscheider uber die Trennung der Moral etc¹¹ against Schellings philosophy.
11. Gurlit's¹², my Collegue's pamphlets you will attend to (1) on account of the excellent latin stile (2) of their learning and freedom. His oration on the 18 Century is very exact a painting of its principal features.
12. Teller's Life.¹³ True and faithfull. His portrait exceedingly like him.
13. The pamphlet about the old prophet's Mr *Hermes's*¹⁴ from Berlin translation to Kiel in Holstein in order to reform the heterodoxy of that University has occasioned many pamphlets which I send you. The first, and the last (accompanying this letter) are the best. This is that very Hermes who was of the Society of Wölner and Hilmer at Berlin. He is no impostor like them, but a week man, of no great learning and less judgement.
14. *Eschenburgs* Theory¹⁵, the newest and best book concerning the state of our *belles lettres*

In the elder Box made up allready in 1804 as far as I remember there are (1) *Grotius de origine Americanorum*¹⁶ (2)

¹⁰Joh. Kaspar Velthusen. Pokeach Iwrim. Beleuchtung einer mystischen Allegorie und Hieroglyphen, etc., the first volume of his "Maurerei und Christenthum gegen einander übergestellt." Stade, 1804. The other book was his "Historisch kritische Nachforschungen über Schottische Maurerey." Leipzig, 1805.** Ebeling has written on the fly-leaf, "An almost unintelligible Book of a very learned author. He is a very religious man, very active, but no Mason, and by the calamities of the time became fantastical." See also p. 336 where we hear of the same man as interested in German missions in North Carolina.

¹¹J. A. L. Wegscheider. Ueber die von der neusten Philosophie geforderte Trennung der Moral von Religion. Hamburg, 1804.

¹²Joh. Gottfried Gurlitt, 1754-1827. The Harvard Library has his "Archaologische Schriften gesammelt. Herausgeg. von Cornelius Müller." Altona, 1831.

¹³Wilhelm Abraham Teller, 1734-1804, distinguished evangelical theologian. Probably Troschel's Gedächtnispredigt, Berlin, 1805, is meant.

¹⁴Hermann Daniel Hermes, 1734-1807. See p. 326.

¹⁵Joh. Joachim Eschenburg, 1743-1820, author of the well known and long used "Manual of Classical Literature." Entwurf einer Theorie und Literatur der schönen Redekünste. 3^o Aufl. Berlin, 1805.*

¹⁶See p. 353.

Teller's Dogmatical Compendium¹⁷ (his first Essay of a freer Research) (3) German Poems Volume 2d.¹⁸ The editor is now at Dörpat, Professor. (4) Zollikofer's Predigten¹⁹ one volume the first he published but not less excellent. (5) Spalding's Predigten (his Life you find in the Berlin Newspapers) very clear, heartily philosophical and practical. They are reckoned amongst our best. He published but few, tho' he lived to his 90th year almost. (6) Count Berchtold's²⁰ Book on restoring live to drowned persons. The Count lives at Vienna, is very rich, but employs all his money in philanthropic designs. He went to Spain and Portugal, published there several books at his expenses on restoring to live suffocated, drowned etc. distributed them gratis. Then he went, a second Howard, into Turkey to study the remedies against plague and published when he returned some valuable treatises thereon. So he employs his whole time in humane pursuits, tho' he is of one of the first families. (7) *Klopstock*, a Book on Klopstock's Life written by Mr Cramer²¹ (now at Paris, formerly professor at Kiel.) The anecdotes are to be relied upon. (8) *La Bataille d'Hermann*²² written by Klopstock and translated by the same Cramer. The Original if I am not mistaken I sent you before.

9) *Klopstocks Gelehrten Republik*.²³ A Book not continued. It is somewhat difficult to understand not only for the lasting allegory, but also for the many allusions to the then state of our literature. The grammatical part is excellent.

¹⁷Wilhelm A. Teller. *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens*. Helmstadt, 1764.**

¹⁸Translations of German poems, extracted from the musical publications of the author of the German Erato [Benjamin Beresford]. 2 vols. Berlin, 1801-03.**

¹⁹See p. 366.

²⁰Kurzgefaeste Methode alle Arten von Scheintodten wieder zu beleben, etc. Von einer reisenden Deutschen. Wien, 1791.

²¹Carl Friedrich Cramer, 1752-1807. *Klopstock*. Er; und über ihn. 1^{er} Theil. Hamburg, 1708.**

²²Hermanns Schlacht; ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne. Hamburg. 1700.** The French translation has not been found.

²³Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik. Ihre Einrichtung. Ihre Gesetze. Geschichte des letzten Landtags. Auf Befehl der Aldermänner durch Salogast und Wlemar. Herausgegeben von Klopstock. 1^{er} Theil. Hamburg, 1774.** Ebeling has written on the flyleaf: "Late Mr. Klopstock's own manual Copy of his Book." Bentley has written out the notice of the book in Ebeling's letter, and adds "K. died in the arms of Mr. Ebeling as he assures me."

The copy was Klopstock's own. I purchased it from his auction.

10) Charlotte Corday.²⁴ A Tragedy written by a Lady of Hambro, in the *manner* of Schiller but not quite with his genius, yet several fine scenes and dialogues. The versification good.

11) Delbruck's *Lyrische Gedichte*.²⁵ I wish this Book was continued, for it contains very tastefull remarks.

12) Klopstock's *Herman's Tod*.²⁶ His *Salomon*²⁷ is in the present parcel. I prefer by far the first. The last has little action and too finespun metaphysick in order to explain why a man like Salomon could become an Idolater.

13) Nasser's *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie*.²⁸ Is not yet finished and contains very usefull and exact notices.

14) A part of the New allgem. Bibl. which was wanting in my former sending.

This is what I remember. I shall be carefull to collect more capital books for you, in order to pay my debt. Heyne's *Virgil* will be amongst them now out of print, but I hope to get it from a Friend.

I am now busy with Virginia, but at the same time obliged to elaborate a description of Portugal and Spain for Bushing's *Geographies*, new Edition. This I shall send you as it appears. The other parts also, which are to be quite newly elaborated by a Society of our best Geographers.

If only my health remains good, I hope to go thro' all this great many occupations, old as I am.

Political News you find in the news papers. Several particularities of litterary ones I have laid together in a corner of the newest box. (You will see which it is by the date of the *Gazettes* therein.) Whole Europe is still distracted by the continuation of war. Heaven knows, how that will end. The mediation of Russia seems to take place, happy the world if it succeeds. If not, I fear there will be a *Hobbesian bellum*

²⁴Charlotte Corday. *Tragödie in fünf Akten mit Choren*. Hamburg, 1804.** By Mme Engel Christine (von Axen) von Westphalen, 1758-1840.

²⁵Ferdinand Delbrück. *Lyrische Gedichte, mit erklärenden Anmerkungen*. Bd. 1. Oden von Klopstock. Berlin, 1800.**

²⁶Herrmann's Tod. Hamburg, 1787.

²⁷Salomo; ein Trauerspiel. Magdeburg, 1764.**

²⁸Joh. Adolph Nasser. *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der deutschen Poesie*. 2 vols. Altona. 1798-1800.

omnium contra omnes and that will be attended with great ruin of many countries. You will be save from it, at least by land, but your navigation may be exposed.

I close this letter in order to send it away. Excuse if I don't write oftener, it comes so seldom to my knowledge when American Ships are in the neighbourhood. Our American post seldom announces them as formerly was the case oftener

With great esteem and thankfulness

Dear Sir

Your most obdt and obliged Servant
C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

Nr 2.

Second Letter sent by Capt Ward.

JULY 4, 1805

DEAR SIR

As by a *happy* mistake of Captain Wards Officer two boxes not belonging to me were sent to me, I found that Mr W. was still in town and he went to see me again in order to clear up the error. I am able to write you once more and to add a small parcell to the two boxes and letter which your worthy Friend charges himself with.

I am also happy to acknowledge the receipt of your sendings the arrival of three boxes by way of Bremen. And in order that you may see how much I was benefitted by your great kindness I shall quote the data's of your letters before me. You may judge whether I have received all as I hope is the case.

[He enumerates nine letters received from Bentley, dated from May 18, 1804 to April 19, 1805, each accompanied by one or more boxes of books and papers¹, repeating substantially

¹Among the books received he notes the following:

Andrew Ellicott, U. S. Commissioner on the boundary between the United States and Spain in America. Journal, Philadelphia, 1803.* Inscribed "Jacob Crowninshield to Rev^d W^m Bentley, Salem, May 23^d, 1804—from W. B. to Professor Ebeling, Hamburg."

William Moultrie. Memoirs of the American Revolution. 2 vols. New York, 1802.* Same inscription as in Ellicott.

John Drayton. A view of South Carolina as respects her natural and civil concerns. Charleston, 1802.*

Ordinances of Charleston. Collected by Alex. Edwards. Charleston, 1802. 4°* Stamped on cover, "William Logan, Warden, Ward N^o 8."

John Marshall. The life of George Washington. Vol. 1-4. Philadelphia, 1804.* Ebeling's unbound copy has been replaced by another, but the fly-leaf of vol. I, with notes in his hand, has been preserved.

what he wrote in the previous letter but putting it in better shape. "Six boxes are arrived in one week from different quarters." He will be careful in future to number the boxes he sends and "write the contents exactly down," and he begs Dr. Bentley, as he has done before, not to give himself so very much trouble.]

I assure you that I am heartily touched at your great Friendship and am much grieved that I cannot deserve it as I sincerely wished. My situation by the present unhappy circumstances of Europe is anxious. I feel sorrow and fear for my nearest relations in the ruined hannoverian country, and must succour them to the utmost of my power. The orphans of a dear beloved brother, 4 sons and two daughters all so excellent young persons that they require my love care and tenderness, one Son now in S Thomas (where his house cash and mercantile Books were saved from the fire. but most of the warehouse consumed), the second at the University of Göttingen and preparing to go to Vienna for taking his degree as Doctor of Medicine. The third with me, the fourth in the country near this town, applying himself to rural oeconomy. Two daughters with my Sister at Lunenberg in the Country of Hannover, continually surrounded with enemies, whose politeness and discipline is to be praised as much, as the heavy requisitions of their government, in money, clothes, rations and portions, etc is enormous. Besides that my daily increasing business not only at the library which is overwhelming, but also as professor, as our Gymnasium is increasing in number and requires more lectures than formerly—besides that I was obliged to help the Bookseller in publishing a quite new Edition of Bushing's Geography, whereof Portugal Spain and Gt Britain fell to my lot—all this together with a very bad state of health (which now thank God is recovering, tho' I two days ago had an access of cold fever, which did not return as my physician feared) the increasing hard hearing—all this kept me from every other business as especially from the continuation of my America which is now taken anew with all eagerness I am capable of into my hands as I wish to have it brought to end.

My extensive correspondence kept me from answering more than $\frac{1}{2}$ the number of letters written to me. I was obliged to

insert an apology in the newspapers. Every body in lower (northern) Germany applies to me for consulting books in our great library for him. I was yielding to the request of many, my willingness was known and now I am taken into requisition every week. I suppose more than 50 letters to be answered lay on my table.

[He expresses astonishment on learning from Bentley's letter of April 16, 1805 that Bentley has not heard from him since August 1802 (presumably his letter of May 10, 1802, p 363). He has written at least twice a year even during the blockade though he has not always noted the dates, but he has evidence of sending a letter by way of Holland Nov. 19, 1804².]

Have you never received a letter from me with a Copy of Robison's Letter to me, which I sent in order to justify my answer to him, which his adherents were so eager in publishing that I could not forbear to wish his letter published in the same way. But now it is too late.

I join to this letter Heyne's Virgil³ the best Edition, not waiting for an opportunity to get it (as it is out of print). I am glad to send you my copy. We have another in the public library.

My letter is called for therefore I close it with assurances of my gratitude esteem and friendship.

C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT 12, 1806

DEAR SIR

I have only a moment left to write these few words, a longer letter¹ acknowledging the many favours received by your kindness which according to your letters have reached me all, will be delivered you by the post. Your mocca bag [of coffee] arrived safe and was sold at 402 Marcs Courant. The Books in the large chest which goes with this letter are partly purchased by that money. I hope the choice will be approved by

¹This letter reached Providence, May 22. See p. 371.

²This Virgil probably went to Alleghany College in Dr. Bentley's bequest. A copy of this edition is recorded in the printed catalogue.

³The letter seems to be missing.

you. My account in the large letter. The Booksellers and Bookbinders bill you will find in Artedi's Hist: piscium in 4^{to} in the Box². The Box is ensured here.

I hope this letter will find you in good health. I cannot boast this from myself.

You will find Adelungs Dictionary; Meusel's 3^d Part; Griesbach's N Test 2nd part, Heyne's Homer with other Books which I owed you. The fate of the allgemeine Bibliothek which I sent you, is told in my other letter. I shall endeavour to get another copy for you, the other was entirely spoiled.

I have the honour to be with great gratitude and esteem

Dear Sir

your

most obedt humble Servant

E. B.

TO DR. BENTLEY.

ALTSTADT, APRIL 20, 1807.

I write you from this place but you will sent your answer to my former residence, because I shall not stay here long time.

I hope my several letters and Boxes have reached you, especially that which was sent on board of Captain Rhodes from Boston, whereof I sent you the original Bill of lading by the post via New York, as before the Copy by way of Boston. [*Marginal note.* Copy of the Bill of Lading. Box of German Books directed to the Reverend Mr. Bentley at Salem in the State of Massachusetts. Likewise a Map directed to the R. Mr. Morse at Charlestown in the State of Mass. Received by *Hawes Harding* mate of the Brig *Sukey* of Boston. *Ham-burgh* Sept 13, 1806.]

I long to hear from you that it was delivered well as it contained all the books which I purchased for you by the money got for the Coffee. As I twice have sent the note and accounts I shall not repeat them. The box was very large and as you

²Artedi, Peter, 1705-1735. *Synonymia piscium graeca et latina. Sive Historia piscium naturalis et literaria.* Lipsiae, 1789.

A bill, probably of the books in this shipment, is bound with the letters, but does not seem worth printing.

will have seen by the Bill of value. It would be a great pleasure to me if you could assign me a Merchant's house in Boston to whom I could consign Boxes and Packets for you; as ships of Salem are very seldom here, and commonly, I don't know for what reason, are *not* advertised in the News paper. I have still another box for you with some books which I hope will be acceptable.

[A description of the European situation follows.]

You wish for more consoling literary notices. I wish I could give you them. Literary business is at a stand. Yet notwithstanding the confusion that reigns [ever]y¹ were, the Easter fair began at Leipsic lately has brought into s[ale more] than 1200 new books inclusive of 90 novels (amongst them one [with the] Title Washington or the American Revolution) and about 40 plays [] musical Books, so that 900 scientific remain. That *famine* may be [of good] consequences, tho' it is not lucrative for the Booksellers and authors. Happily I am not amongst the last; and my Cousin's Geography of Portugal will but appear in the Month of May. That being finished, he writes me, that he will return to America.

I must finish this letter when it shall go by the present opportunity. I wish for news from you and only add that as to my health, it has been pretty well since I recovered from a violent attack in the breast by an obstinate cough. The winter who continues here about as on the lower Elbe is not calculated to preserve health.

I am with continual esteem and great regard

Dear Sir

Your affectionate friend
and Countryman

CLOSE BROWN

[It will be noticed that owing to the military occupation of Hamburg and "the state of our distracted country" he signs an assumed name supposedly American, and that he refers to his book on Portugal as his "Cousin's." The "Altstadt" (reminiscent of Altona) at the head of the letter is due to the same

¹Several words are wholly or partly destroyed by the tearing of the paper about the seal, yet the sense can be recovered.

precaution. The greater part of the letter is devoted to an interesting description of the European situation, but he remarks—"It is unsafe to write even facts." In a postscript he says,—“All this was not written for your use. If extracts were to be made public you must not mention any names of place or writer nor communicate this letter to whomsoever. We live in a very dangerous time and situation.”]

TO DR. BENTLEY

AUGUST 12 [1807.]

DEAR SIR

I have the honour to send you a Box with German Books by the Brig the Harriot of Salem Capt Th Ropes, and at the same time thankfully to acknowledge the arrival of two Boxes, which you were so kind as to send me by way of Copenhagen, June 1805. The circuitous way by which they arrived must account for the long delay for it was but last month, that they came into my possession.

At the entrance of our gate they were stopt by the french Douaniers (Custom house officers) but by the kindness of the french Minister and upon proof that they contained nothing but *American* Books and papers, they were released without any expence. My personal acquaintance with the Secretary of the French Legation saved them. Now it will be more difficult to send and to receive by the way of Copenhagen, as unhappily the scene of this unheard-of war is approaching to us.

I shall do my best to procure you all Michaelis's Works, the deficient parts of the German Library, Ernesti's Works (you get here his Theological Library, those with black titles I purchased for your money in an auction, the other please to accept from me to complete the set.) Schultens are only to be got in auctions, all being printed in Holland; so is Niebuhr¹ and exceeding scarcity as all remaining copies were burnt in the great fire at Copenhagen, together with the copperplates of the whole work, which makes reprinting impossible for the worthy author. But I shall do my best to get a Copy when occasion offers.

¹Probably Carsten Niebuhr's "Beschreibung von Arabien." Kopenhagen, 1772.

I must finish this letter and give you only my best and sincerest thanks in a hurry. I shall write you soon and more amply when our strangers are departed. I am with great Respect Your

Most obliged and devoted Servant and
Friend

C. D. E.

I have just finished my Mst of the Description of Portugal which will be printed soon. I shall send you a copy, as a proof of a new manner of writing geography critically and with the necessary vouchers for the truth of what is reported. Now I return to America. Spain and England will alternately [be] described afterwards. The rest of Europe is *indiscribable*, as all depends on the whims and humour of a single man, now the vice-director of the world. Heaven beware good America when Europe has recovered peace. Louisiana will be the first pomum Eridos between the United States and . . . I wish my prophecy may be false.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT. 12, 1808.

DEAR SIR

The Kindness of a Friend gives me hope that this letter will come save to your hand. I doubt whether two others which I wrote about half a year ago were so happy.

The distracted State of almost the whole world, all navigation interrupted on the Elbe, at Tönning, Copenhagen etc makes it impossible to me to send you several boxes with books which are ready for you. Amongst others one containing 74 new volumes of the neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek. But I shall continue to collect for you what I find worthy of your attention. I am persuaded this unhappy destruction of all social order and rights of men cannot last very long time. The general cry of all nations must at last reach the ears of those who can give relief to mankind as soon as they will. I forbear to write you news as it is too unsave not knowing in whose hand this could fall. But we know also very few news. All liberty of the press is lost and none dares to speak polititiks, which to tell the truth are at present nothing but report and

false news. One consolation we have that (thanks to our enlightened age!) good order begins to be restored, and that even Science and learning is not destroyed, tho' many branches of them declining. Physik, natural history, the Study of the new law, the classical ancient Philology are all in the best way and even flourishing, some part of divinity (especially Church-history and Exegesis) are still in vigour, but our philosophy is quite run mad, so it is mostly with our poetry and esthetics. Even Göthe has published a Tragedy: *Dr Faustus*, which contains some quite excellent Scenes of the highest tragical effect, but many others full of absurdities, empty rhimes, and even low indecencies. He imitated some scenes of witches in Shakespear's *Macbeth*, but very unhappily. The History of our times has no existence, unless vile flattery, as in the times of the worst roman emperors was usual, could be called history. The Universities begin to revive, *seven* of which, made a part of the New Kingdom of Westphalia, were in danger; but all fear is now over and Göttingen, Halle, Helmstadt, Marburg are recovering, less so Rintelm, Paderborn (a long time lingering and insignificant Roman-Catholik university) and Erfurt a mixed one of Protestant and R. C. professors. The celebrated Swiss Historian Mr. Müller¹ has been made Minister of the Institutes of learning in the Kingdom of Westphalia and that is a very happy event. Mr Villers² a French Captain of Artillerie long time living in germany has written an excellent treatise on behalf of the german Universities. The same author who wrote that celebrated work on Lutheranism which was crowned by the French imperial Institute at Paris and has undergone a great many editions, translations whereof one copy is ready for you. I am quite without any knowledge about America. My description of Virginia is now printing. In the mean time I amused myself with writing a new Geography of Portugall which was published in the end of last year, and finished in the very moment when the Kingdom was over-

¹Johannes von Müller, 1752-1809.

²Charles Villers, 1765-1815. *Coup-d'oeil sur les universités et la mode d'instruction publique de l'Allemagne protestante; en particulier du royaume de Westphalie.* Casel, 1808.

Also his *Essay on the spirit and influence of the reformation of Luther.* London, 1805. See also p. 395.

thrown by the prevailing power. How are the mighty fallen! The causes of their ruin, especially that of Prussia, are quite misunderstood and the public judgement is entirely misled everywhere. Great many pamphlets, books etc are written in the unhappy desolated country, but full of contradictions; the best of them one published by our veteran Nicolai, in french you shall have. I fear the true state of Europe is quite misunderstood in American, English and other Newspapers, who command our politiks, can give no true Idea. But truth once will find its way to posterity.

As to my situation, it has been, thanks to kind providence, tolerably good, as also my health. We learn to abstain from many things which formerly we thought to be of absolute necessity to our existence. I hope to hear from you, who are happily out of reach of the general deluge. May your country be ever so. The long chasm of our correspondence I hope shall soon be closed for ever.

My letter is called for, this hinders me to entertain myself longer with such a friendly and dear Correspondent, as you are. I write no News, as that to day we had the first intelligence *by way of Paris* of a very interesting event that happened in our neighbourhood more than a month ago. So our News are commonly very old, when from the Danish Island near us they make first such a round about way.

I a[ways] remain with great esteem
Dear Sir
Your most obedt Servant
E. P. H.

My box sent in August by Capt. T. Hopes [i. e. Ropes], the Harriot of Salem, I hope has reached you. It contained Ernesti's theol. Biblioth, Spaldings Predigt. 13 volumes of Götting. gelehrte Anzeigen, Minterti Lexicon³, Wolf Biblioth. hebraica 3 vols, and others. My letter was of 12 July, 1807 a long chasm till this day!

³Petri Mintert Lexicon graeco-latinum in Novum Testamentum. Francofurti ad M., 1728.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT 26, 1809

DEAR SIR

I have received the four Boxes Nr 1, 3, 4, 5 by Capt Brown, which I owe to your kindness, and to shew my gratitude in some way have sent you in return two boxes Nr 1, 2, containing besides the usual Gazettes, several Books, which I hope will be acceptable to you.

The long chasm in our correspondence is filled up by your kindness. But I regrett the many troubles you underwent in order to collect and pack up the Gazettes. I wish I could spare many of these troubles to you.

I have sent several pamphlets, the *Berlinische Monatschrift* (be so kind and mention to me what months of each year are wanting, for I suppose that my bookseller neglected to send me them quite regularly). Our *Addressblatt*¹ may contain several historical, geographical or amusing pieces not unworthy to be translated for your Gazettes.

You will allow me to make some remarks upon the books, I sent you.

The *Neue allgemeine Bibliothek* 79 volumes goes as far as to the 41. volume with the Supplements. I shall take care to procure you soon the rest. Such books, you know, are soon out of print, and too voluminous to be reprinted. I shall not neglect to procure them occasionally. It will give you a complete Idea of our literature, its treasures and rubbish.

The *Literaturzeitung*² which is unbound and unhappily not complete (complete copies sell at an enormous price in auctions and occur very rarely) contains yet many Reviews with valuable excerpts and learned remarks. Such *Literaturzeitungen* we have at present three, published at Halle, Jena (these are replete with the fantastical new Philosophy, called Naturphilosophie, unintelligible, in a high bombastical stile), the third is written at Leipzig and with that of Halle the best. The Göttingen learned Newspaper is still continuing but too full of

¹Hamburgische Address-Comtoir-Nachrichten, 1801-1811.**

²See p. 335.

french literature (all italian, spanish, english, swedish books now entirely wanting to the Reviewers.)

Three *Maps* will show you the *present* State of Sovereigns or rather Subjects in Germany and their country as divided now. Another is an Essay of a correct Map of the United States, wherein I have some small part. But I have not had time to correct the drawing, nor seen it before it was engraved.

Michaelis new oriental library Vol 1-6. his Commentationes and Syntagma, his Treatise on Sin and Satisfaction (still somewhat of the ancient orthodox doctrine) his Book on Matrimonial-Laws will be welcome on account of the real learning contained therein.

Velthusen and *Lindeman's*³ liturgical books are a proof that we endeavour to correct and emend this part of our divine service. We must go by degrees.

*Henke*⁴ *Geschichte neuer Prophetin* seems to me remarkable as a proof that unhappy times always produce derangements in the mental faculties of many sufferers, but that men of sound sense endeavour to obviate them. The author, formerly Professor at Helmstadt and one of our most learned and enlightened divines, unhappily died lately in the flower of his age. His masterpiece, an universal church-history⁵, is now reprinting, much corrected and enlarged as I hear. I shall send it you when it appears.

Reimarus on the Instincts of Animals⁶ is the newest edition published by the Son of the Author Dr Reimarus my Fellow-Professor at the Gymnasium. Of political pamphlets I have not sent many, they are all full of party spirit. Yet the *Minerva*⁷ of the year 1806.1807, the *Materialien für Geschichte*

³F. H. Lindeman. *Vereuch einer neuen Liturgie vornehmlich in Rücksicht des nachmittägigen Gottesdienstes für Jugend.* Lüneburg, 1808.**

⁴Heinrich P. C. Henke. *Actenmäßige Geschichte einer Württembergischen neuen Prophetin und ihres ersten Zeugen.* Hamburg, 1808.**

⁵Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Kirche. 4^e Aufl. 6 vol. Braunschweig, 1799-1804.**

⁶Herm. Sam. Reimarus. *Allgemeine Betrachtungen über die Triebe der Thiere.* Letzte verbesserte Auflage. 3 vol. Wien, 1790. Third vol. edited by J. A. H. Reimarus. Ebeling had already sent a copy of an earlier edition, 1773. See p. 340.

⁷Minerva. *Ein Journal historischen und politischen Inhalts.* Herausg. von J. W. von Archenholz. Hamburg. The Harvard Library has vol. 1-262. 1792-1857.

1805-1807⁸ (published by Nicolai, but written by a Prussian Ex-Minister of State) will give you the best Idea of the Ruin of the Prussian Power. More than a hundred hungry authors have written on that subject and puzzled the judgement of the readers. Most of them were Prussians sighing under the yoke of their vanquisher, and now enemies to their Country either out of anger or in order to court the grace of their new masters. Patriotic authors wrote against them as for example the Author of the *Löscheimer*⁹ (the Bucket for quenching fire).

I have added a few poetical works. *Neubeck's Gesundbrunnen*¹⁰ is perhaps the best poetical production lately published in Germany; fancy, philosophical and poetical ideas happily united, a plan rich in invention and very good and harmonious versification, recommend it.

Klopstok's David,¹¹ not one of his best productions, not fit for to be brought on the stage, yet full of sparks of his genius.

*Petrarka*¹² a poem written by a Hambro' Lady of distinction and poetical genius, who lives almost in poetry. She is to publish two volumes of miscellaneous poetry, mostly lyric, and many of them very good and eminent. The lyric part of her Drama is doubtless the best. The translations from Petrarca are soft, tender and well versified.

*Erzählungslese*¹³ II volume contains many excellent as the former part, which I sent before; but also many common ones of little merit.

⁸Materialien sur Geschichte der Jahre 1805, 1806 und 1807. Frankfurt u. Leipsig, 1808.** By Joh. Wilhelm Lombard. The Harvard Library has also, from another source, a copy of the same work in a French form: "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des années 1805, 1806 et 1807. Dediée aux Prussiens par un ancien compatriote [Jean Guillaume Lombard]. Francfort et Leipsic, 1808."

⁹Löscheimer. Herausgegeben von H. v. L-n (C. F. von Both). Ein Journal in swanglosen Helften. 6 hefte. [Kiel], 1807-09.

¹⁰Valerius Wilhelm Neubeck. Die Gesundbrunnen. Vier Gesänge. 2^o Aug. Leipsig, 1809.

¹¹David; ein Trauerspiel. Hamburg, 1772.**

¹²Petrarca; ein dramatisches Gedicht in fünf Akten; von der Verfasserin der Charlotte Corday [Mme. Engel Christine (von Axen) von Westphalen]. Title from Cornell Univ. Library Catalogue of the Petrarch Collection.

Ebeling also sent to his friend the two following little booklets, but they can hardly be the volumes mentioned:

Aphrodite. Dem 16 März 1808. [Hamburg, 1808.] pp. 21.**

Licht und Liebe. Zur Vermählungsfeier meiner Tochter Christine Auguste mit Herrn J. C. F. Rist. Den 8. December, 1808. [Hamburg, 1808.] pp. 12.**

¹³J. A. R. Janassen. Poetische Erzählungs-Lese aus deutschen Dichtern. 2 vol. Hamburg, 1806-07.**

*Richardet*¹⁴ I sent as a proof how much our language is capable to express all kind of poetry. It is one of the great many translations which we have of all classical authors ancient and modern. A new one of Milton's Paradise (the fifth, we have) is publishing now and is in the same metre as the original and by the proposals and specimen will surpass all others. You find the last in the Berlin Monathschrift. As soon it is published I will send it.

Zimmerman's Description of Brazil is one of his almanacs, as he publishes annually, and in general very well written.

I have added a Catalogue of an Auction made here, wherein the Books were sold very dear. I have not been able to procure as many of the most important for our publick Library as I wished. Our funds were not sufficient and could not be increased notwithstanding the best will of my superiors, as the head-source of our wealth, commerce, is entirely dried up.

A few *musical Books* may be acceptable. The collection of Odes and Songs is only intended as a Specimen what our music was seventy or sixty years ago, when Bach, Graun and others began their career. *Bach's Sinfonies* (by a mistake bound in one volume) will be a somewhat hard exercise for those who execute them. They require much nicety and swiftness in the Allegros and great attention to measure as well, as to the expression of piano and forte. *With these* they will appear as high masterpeaces. *Himmel*¹⁵ is at present one of the best german componists for great Anthems and such Sort of Church Musiks but rather a sweet insinuating, than a great genius.

I wish that this will reach you all save, and shall continue if you approve of my choice.

My Geography of America was interrupted by my *Description of Portugal*¹⁶ whereof I join a Copy. Büshings Geography is laid down as the fundament, but entirely resounded, corrected and enlarged. I intended to give thereby an example how Geography of Europe should be executed in order to enable the

¹⁴Niccolo Fortiguerra's *Richardett* übersetzt von C. C. Heise. 1^{er} Theil. Berlin, 1808.**

¹⁵Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, 1765-1814, Prussian Kapellmeister.

¹⁶Neue Erdbeschreibung. Europa. Portugal und Spanien. Erste Abtheilung. Portugal. Sehr vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Herausgegeben von C. D. Ebeling. Hamburg, 1808.

reader to judge of the date of accounts, of their exactness, and fidelity, by always referring to their sources. It was intended to be as complete as possible, not for a book to be read for amusement, but to be consulted by travellers, men of business and politicians. My Reviewers say that I have not missed my aim, one excepted who publishes also (as a monthly pamphlet) a universal Geography, who bestowed upon me very much praise, mixed with quite undeserved blame. As both to me seemed quite undeserved and often ridiculous, I wrote thereupon some remarks which you find in the *Neue Zeitung* Nr 48 and 50¹⁷. The author did not chuse to reply. His mistakes were too palpable. He reproached me to have neglected to make use of several books (he named them) which do not contain a *single line* concerning Portugal; he upbraided to me having neglected to treat of many matter, wherewith I have filled many pages. He did not read nor examine my Book. I never liked literary quarrels, but this Reviewer made too many blunders, and I was prevaild to expose them to the public. I don't know who is the author, and dwell only upon his performance. He did not chuse to reply with even one line.

My Geography of America goes on, but is not yet in print All my endeavours to get the newest map of Virginia by Bishop Madison has been in vain, so am I in want of Virginia and Carolina Almanacs; the newest edition of Morse's Geography and Gazetteer; the newest edition of Scotts American Geographical Dictionary Many of them were sent me a year ago from Philadelphia, but the ship was lost who carried them. I have written at new for them and so shall do these days once more. Salem is too far to the Nord otherwise I would entreat [you to]¹⁸ get the mentioned map and almanack for me there.

I must close my [letter]. If divine Providence let me live to see peace return I shall write you the history of our times in Europe. Now I restrain myself to literature. Wishing you all prosperity I am

Dear Sir

Your most obedient gratefull

Servant C. D. EBELING.

¹⁷The *Hamburgische neue Zeitung* of March 25 and 29, 1809. The review mentioned was in *Bertuch's Geographische Ephemeriden*, XXVI, 171-176.

¹⁸Torn by the seal.

TO DR. BENTLEY

OCTOBER 25, 1809.

[Thanks for four boxes received and notice of two sent in return.]

The literary Newspapers will shew you, that notwithstanding the calamities of our times, the Germans do not abandon literature. As soon as the Navigation is more save, I shall write you more particularly of the present state of Letters on the continent. At present one is exposed to so many vexations at the Customhouses etc. that it is not advisable to speak our minds out. I only can tell you, that of the 32 Universities still remaining in Germany since the peace of Tilsit at least 6 will be cancelled; amongst them are, Helmstaedt, Marburg, Rinteln, Altdorf, all old and celebrated protestant Universities, none having less than 16 Professors, ordinary and extraordinary ones, besides Teachers of living languages, arts (Drawing, Riding, Dancing, Musik). Few of the professors will find places in other Universities, and must content themselves with small pensions graciously left to them by the King of Westfalia and Bavaria. At Berlin there will be established a new University on a new Plan joined with the Academy of Sciences there. I fear a University in such a large populous Capital, will not do.

I have joined to the Books contained in the box a few for the Historical Society at Boston which you will be pleased to forward occasionally.

Should the unhappy vexations of commerce and navigation continue, I must beg you, to be so kind as to send me only (1) one of the best Salem Gazettes (2) one of Boston (I think the Independent Chronicle) (3) one of Philadelphia (the Aurora) (4) the Washington Intelligencer (5) besides all those that are published in Virginia and the other Southern and Western States, retaining the others for a more save occasion when (as is hoped) the blockade of the Elbe will be taken of. For at present I must fear, when you sent me so many (as very well-come they otherwise are) the expences will be too heavy for you and for me. By way of Tonningen it is the shortest, but by Gottenburg, Copenhagen it is certainly too much trouble and expences for you, who are, besides that, so obliging as to

select, pack up and forward them with so much care and trouble. I shall endeavour to shew myself gratefull, by chusing valuable new Books for you. We have a great many, but mostly *crambe biscocta*¹, and commonly old editions with new titles.²

I have the honour to be with great esteem and gratitude

Dear Sir Your most obed^t Serv. C. D. EBELING.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

OCTOBER 25, 1809¹

DEAR SIR

Your kind Letter of July 8 was a great confort to me in these sad times. I was just about of writing to you, as I had sent you a roll of Maps for you and Rev. Dr Morse, as also several books which I take the liberty of sending to the much respected Historical Society, and hope they will be acceptable. I take the liberty of joining to them now a few others, and shall for the future be more carefull to procure to the Society, what may be usefull for the knowledge of America and was published in Germany, by such as were once in that Part of the Globe. I suppose that it will be interesting to see in what point of view foreigners consider your country, if even it should be erroneous.

My description of America was interrupted, because I wanted materials in order to show its newest state. I have not even Dr Morse's newest Edition, of his valuable Geography and Gazeteer; I want also several new Maps. Besides that it at present was impossible to procure them, as long as the Blocades are continuing, I was engaged to take part in a new Geography of Europe publishing now, whereof the Description of Sweden, Danemark Norvegen and Portugal (this last my work) have appeared in print. The uncertain State of all European Empires and Realms depending of the mercy of a great man, makes Geography a very fluctuating Science. Therefore I shall wait for the final Settlement of the constitution etc of unhappy Spain, and not publish my description, tho' allready finished, till its peace is restored. Perhaps it

¹*crambe biscocta* = warmed over cabbage.

²In the margin is given a list of the books sent to Dr. Bentley, some of the titles in more precise form than in the previous letter, and a list of those sent to the Historical Society. The latter is repeated in more legible form in the following letter.

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 91.

may have the happy issue of the American United States in preserving their liberty—they fight bravely for it, and would have been more successful if their allies instead of attacking with 40000 men a growing *Marinø* in a river², had send them to Spain. I regrett very much that our language is not read in your northern States, otherwise I should sent some copies, and wish to knew how our plan and its execution was liked. It is the following: (1) To describe each country from all the printed geographical books published in that country itself, critically examined, compared and (2) by sending sketches of our descriptions to friends in the principal cities of each country to revise them (3) by communicating also our Mss with such able men as had travelled in that land we describe. (4) by adding to each paragraph or section or chapter of the description the vouchers or quotations of such authors as they are taken from, in order that an inquisitive reader may see how recent the given accounts are, and how much they may be relied on. (5) If materials can be got from persons who have part in the government of such state itself, to prefer these, if their authenticity is not to be doubted. All this is not an easy task, and also a very expensive one, but the only, to make Geography to be a Science to be relied upon. Our Büshing (of 12 Editions of his large work in 10 volumes only the second Edition has been translated into english and even very neglectfully) began this career and was assisted and supported by most of the german princes, by the Emperess of Russia, by many ministers of Spain, Prussia, Austria, Danemark; but he died before he could complete his description of Asia whereof only 1 volume was finished. His work has been translated twice into French, twice into Italian, into the russian and hungarian language, as also into the Dutch. Mr Pinkerton an english Geographer does Büshing and me the honour to call our descriptions dry; we have but one verse of Horace in answer

ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri.

A Body of Geography is not a book to be read for amusement, but to be consulted for use. Exactness in the highest degree

²Referring to the ill-fated Walcheren expedition in the summer of 1809 directed against Antwerp.

possible, is its principal requisite, conciseness in stile, good order and judicious selection, with purity of the language, as also a complete enumeration of all the provinces and their cities and towns, etc with what is remarkable therein.

But I see that I begin to write of my petty affairs instead of the far more interesting ones, of our Literature. I reserve it to future time to write you on the present political State of our Continent when we see more clear and are allowed to speak out our minds. At present I can only say that we must hope for happy consequences of a very calamitous revolution pervading the whole continent of Europe and even affecting great part of America. Our City is still in a deplorable State, deprived of its principal ressource, and yet by far not so unhappy as hundred other once flourishing large towns in Europe, and particularly in disunited Germany.

Literature, we may boast of, is not destroyed by the fury of our days, but it struggles and strives against it with all forces. Many of our best learned men died lately, as our great Historian *Schlözer* at Göttingen, *Müller* Minister of State at Cassel, our *Tacitus*, *Henke* one of our most enlightened divines and author of the best History of the Church, Professor at Helmstädt and many others. *Heyne* is still living, enjoys good health in his old age, but sighs at the misfortunes threatening our literature from every side. The University of Göttingen and Halle, as also of Leipsic the most renowned and flourishing in Germany are still subsisting, tho' much diminished in numbers of students. Göttingen was endangered by late preposterous measures to be deserted by more than 400 Students (when I studied there we were about 800) Leipsic (frequented in my time by almost 1000 students) is reduced to perhaps 550. But at present Göttingen is restored in some way and the King of Westphalia declared that all its priveleges, revenues and institutes as well as those of Halle shall be left undiminished and even increased, but 3 other Universities, Helmstädt, Marburg, Rinteln now all in his Realm, (each only frequented by 200 about, sometimes less, or more) shall be abolished, tho' most of them richly endowed (which income will perhaps serve to encrease the army, the splendor of the court). The King of Bavaria abrogates the protestant University he had got at Altorf, formerly

belonging to the Free City of Nürnberg, a very good one; allowing to his *protestant* Subjects to frequent foreign Universities. *Leipsic, Halle, Heidelberg, Jena, Kiel, Rostock, Wittenberg, Giessen, Erlangen, Greifswald, Francfort on the Oder* subsist still (the underlined the most flourishing in students; learned professors, even renowned ones are in each) The roman catholic universities are mostly in a miserable state, except those of Bavaria, which are much favoured by the Government and have even many protestant professors, tho' not of divinity. The number of 32 Universities left to Germany will in some years be diminished by about six and increased only by a new one at Berlin upon a new plan joined to the royal Academy of Sciences allready existing there since 1740. I fear a great capital and royal residence is not a proper place for a University.

The french ruling at the court of Westfalia had fine Ideas of our Universities, but late Minister Müller happily overturned them, and a very learned Frenchman, Mr Villers, formerly officer of artillery but an excellent man and intimately acquainted with our language and litterature wrote a Book (he lives at Lübek and is often with us) shewing to the french that they had no University in their whole Empire which deserved that name, when compared with the German ones. Their plan was (and the young King had approved of it) 1) to abolish every theological Faculty, as the Catechism was to be taught by Schoolmasters and priests. 2) to leave for each of the remaining faculties, viz the juridical, medical, and philosophical, one *Professor* and one *Suppléant*. You will think that I tell a tale, but I have it from late Minister Müller (the author of that excellent History of the helvetian league) and from that learned man named in your letter that this is literally true. Two other Ministers at Cassel, Mr *de Martens*³ (from Ham-bourg) and Mr *de Leiste*; both Professors at Göttingen before they were made Ministers of State, joined in the Opposition and shewed how much the French were in the wrong, and the Government yielded. So a very great calamity was averted and Göttingen retains all his literary institutions and its 29

³Georg Friedrich Martens, 1756-1821, the well-known authority on international law and collector of European treaties, and Justus Christoph Leist, 1770-1858.

ordinary and 7 extraordinary Professors, besides many Masters of Arts and Doctors of Law or medicine who teach without having a salary fixed. But all professors have lost their titles of honour because derived from the King of Gr Britain and are to be called only Professors (not Counsellors etc) and the University to take the name of—Napoleonea.

Marginal note: Mr Leiste is at present at the head of the literary department of the Kingdom. At the beginning of this year there were at Göttingen 4 prof of divinity, 7 of Law, 7 of Physick, and 6 of Mathem. and Astron. 2 of History, 6 of philosophical Sciences including Oeconomy, 5 of Philology and Literature, besides 16 Doctors of different Sciences and 20 Masters of Arts who gave lessons; as also 4 masters of modern Languages.

The five Universities of the Kingdom of Westfalia according to Minister Müller's account required an annual expence of 500,000 Dollars at the charge of the public treasure.

The University of *Heidelberg* belonging to the Grandduke of Baden is also very flourishing, but there as well as at *Jena* the new Philosophy predominates⁴, which is mostly an unintelligible mystical *jargon* on metaphysical matters, Mr. Schelling now professor at Landshut in Bavaria is the Author of a branch of the Kantian Philosophy far more degenerated than that of Fichte (somewhat of an Idealist) There is yet no University which cannot boast of several very able learned professors, renowned also by their writings.

The number of books seems not to be diminished in Germany even in those parts who were exposed particularly to the war with Prussia and Austria. But a great many books announced as new ones, are old editions with new different titles. The best are those that treat of natural history and amongst them very dear ones as for example the *Flore portugaise* now publishing by Count Hermanseg and professor Link consisting of 60 Numbers each with 6 coloured plates in Folio maximo, at 2 Louisdor each number, whereof 3 are given out allready and

⁴It is interesting to compare Ebeling's frequent remarks on German philosophy with George Ticknor's sketch of the revolutions in German metaphysics as exemplified in Kant, Fichte and Schilling in his "Life, letters, and journals," 1876, I. 96-99. Ticknor was at the time of writing (1816) in Göttingen.

surpass in excellent execution even the best english botanical works. It is published at Berlin under the eyes of the Count himself by artificers instructed by him at great expence. Such other works are Schrader's Hortus Göttingensis, Wildenow's Hortus berolinensis, a new Edition of Jacquin's Hortus Vindobonensis, besides many Works on Entomology.⁵

Editions of classical Authors particularly greek ones appear many. The splendid Edition of Homer by Wolf (the pupil but moderate antagonist of Heyne) in large folio is not yet finished; but Griesbachs New Testament in greek 4 Volumes large in quarto on hot pressed Vellum paper with 4 excellent engravings is complete. They coast 80 Dollars The first Volume of Homer 30. Other precious works are still printed, as Klopstock's Works advanced now to 7 Volumes large in quarto on hot pressed Paper with masterly engravings. Our belles lettres and poetry are greatly in the decline by an unnatural taste and affected language in imitation of ancient german poetry of the middle age. Yet some principal genius are still living as Goethe, Voss (the translator of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Tibullus) Pfeffel an excellent poet in Fables, Epigrams and the didactic kind, blind like Milton, lately died.

The study of Divinity exerts itself particularly in exegetical books, but almost all written in German, as writing in Latin is not so much of fashion as formerly. That of History is in a fair way of progress. Late Mr Müller died too early. It is hoped his History of Helvetia⁶ will be continued from his materials by his brother, who will also publish the manuscript of his Universal History on a quite new plan. Physik is much cultivated but by many *Sectirians* if I may use that word, as Brownists etc. The Study of Law has got a great revolution by the Code of Napoleon introduced as Common law into most german provinces of the rhenish League.

The History of Litterature is much liked with us, and we

⁵The titles mentioned are sufficient for easy identification, but Hermansseg should be Hoffmannsegg and Wildenow should be Willdenow.

⁶Müller's History of Switzerland reached the first division of the fifth part in its author's life time; it was continued by Robert Glutz-Blotheim, J. J. Hottinger and others and extended to fifteen volumes, the last volume being issued in 1853. His Universal History, "Vier und Zwanzig Bücher allgemeiner Geschichten besonders der europäischen Menschheit" was edited by his brother and translated into many languages.

have lately been enriched by very extensive and complete works—Eichhorn's⁷ Professor's at Göttingen, Universal History of Sciences in 4 Volumes is certainly the best existing, tho' Wachler's and Meusel's are also very well done. They comprehend all Sciences, nations, and all times, down to our days. At Goettingen there is begun a large work⁸ too great in extension written by many professors whereof there are out already the History of Philology, mathematics (by late Mr Kaestner) Natural Philosophy, Philosophy. speculative and practical, Chemistry, Belles Lettres, and Exegetical Theology, each 4 and more Volumes besides 2 volumes of a general Introduction. The whole if complete will amuont to perhaps 60 Volumes octavo. Mole ruit sua!

Your Notices concerning American literature will be very agreeable to me, as they come from a learned and intelligent man. What I know thereof is only by help of the Gazettes, which Mr Bentley kindly sends me, and by a Bibliotheque Americaine⁹ published at Paris, but very irregularly. I should wish we had a Bibliotheque germanique as in old times was published many years in french by a Professor Formey and others at Berlin, but it has discontinued long since. Olivarius's *le Nord* was in some way of that kind but it has been dropt likewise in its second year. There are two sets or Nrs more than you have, which I shal send you as soon as I can get them. Professor O. sells them himself and is always ranmbing about. I cannot tell you whether he is at home at present, he was lately in Italy, in France, I don't know where else.

The Biography of New England¹⁰ which you publish is a very laudable Undertaking, and I long for its perusal. If there should offer itself an occasion to send me two copies so that I

⁷Joh. Gottfried Eichhorn's "Geschichte der litteratur von ihrem Anfang bis auf die neuesten Zeiten." 6 vol. Gottingen, 1805.

⁸Geschichte der Künste und Wissenschaften seit der Wiederherstellung derselben bis an das Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Von einer Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer ausgearbeitet.

⁹Bibliothèque américaine, 9 pt. in 3 vol. Paris, 1807.

¹⁰A biographical dictionary containing a brief account of the first settlers, and other eminent characters. Salem, 1809.* Inscribed in Eliot's hand—"For professor Ebeling from his friend and servant John Eliot." Ebeling added, "with Corrections written by the Author himself."

may pay the amount to the Captain who delivers it, I beg you will remember me; as also two Copies of the Memoirs [Collections] of the Historical Society Volume IX and X. I would also be obliged to you if I could get a copy of Dr Morse's newest Editions of his Geography of America and Gazeteer. supposing that the payment could be made in the above mentioned way. It is to be hoped that the Blocade System will at last be abandoned as it hurts only neutral powers, and not them that it is intended to ruin. When your Ships go to Tonningen then it is not very expensive to send parcels by the *Postwaggon* (not by the *Letterpost* which amount to a terrible expence of 30 or 40 dollars for a few pounds weight) or by carriers of freight, called *Freightwaggons*. But by way of Copenhagen is very expensive.

The Books which I took the liberty to offer to the Historical Society in the two Boxes directed to Mr Bentley in the Ship *Hind Cpt. James Brace* from Salem are the following¹¹

**Pouchot* Memoirs of the Canadian War 1757. 3 Volumes
8^{vo}

Jugement sur Canada. 4^{to}.

**State of Jamaica* 8^{vo}.

**Westindia Diseases* by Quier. 8^{vo}.

**Clusii* and a *Costa Aromata indica*. 8^{vo}.

**Cieca* *Descripcion del Perú*. 8. an old very scarce spanish book

**Herlein* *Description of Suriname* in Dutch. 4^{to}.

**Hennepin* and *Denis* *Descr. of Canada etc* in Dutch 4^{to}

**Du Vallon*. *Luisiane*. Some Maps for you and Dr Morse.

¹¹Most of the following titles are easily identified. The fact that copies of nearly all were received by the Harvard Library among Ebeling's books shows that he had other copies on his own shelves when he sent these to the Historical Society. All but two are still to be found in the Society's Library.

The "*Jugement sur Canada*" I have not traced.

The third title in fuller form is "The state of the island of Jamaica. Chiefly in relation to its commerce and the conduct of the Spaniards in the West-Indies. By a person who resided several years in Jamaica. London, 1726."

The fourth is "Letters and essays on the small-pox and inoculation, the measles, etc. of the West Indies. By different practitioners. London, 1778." The first, second, third, fifth and sixth letters are from Dr. John Quier.

Clusii Aromata is Garcia da Orta's "Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia, in epitomen contracta, etc. à Car. Clusio." Antverpiæ, 1593.

*The titles marked with an asterisk indicate that other copies owned by Ebeling are now in the Harvard Library. The Harvard Library has the German translation of *DuVallon*, "*Schilderung von Louisiana*. Weimar, 1804." Probably Ebeling's copy.

I heartily wish they may arrive well and you may receive them as a small testimony of my wish to serve the right honorable Society. It will be a great joy to me to continue our Correspondence and convince you of the great esteem which I owe you

Dear Sir

your most obed^t Servant C. D. EBELING

P. S.

If Mr Webb, who was so kind as to send me your letter offering to carry an answer can take also some books together with him you will get a parcel wherein is contained

1. *Vater's*, Professor at Halle but going now to Königsberg. Inquiries on the population of America from the old continent. 1809¹² A very learned work. The same author now is publishing an excellent work *on the American languages*. The celebrated Traveller, von Humbold, my Friend and formerly my pupil (but a very learned one) furnished him, together with his brother the now prussian Minister of State with many materials, so did I as far as my store went. As soon as it appears I shall send it you. It is particularly rich with regard to Southern America.
2. *Villers Coup d'Oeil sur l'Etat actuel de la literature ancienne et de l'histoire en Allemagne*. 1809.
3. *His Coup d'Oeil sur les Universités et la mode d'instruction publique de l'Allemagne protestante*. 1808.
4. *Doléances des peuples du continent de l'Europe au sujet de l'interruption de leur commerce adressee à tous les princes*. 1809¹³. written by my worthy and patriotic Colleague Professor Reimarus M. D. now in his 75 year. All are packet up and sealed already waiting for a save occasion to reach you, together with a small Book which you occasionally will be pleased to forward to Rev Mr Bentley with my letter to him¹⁴.

¹²Joh. Severin Vater, 1771-1826. Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung aus dem alten Kontinente. Leipsig, 1810.

¹³The Library of Congress has a pamphlet of 15 pages with the same title in German: "Klagen der Völker des Continents von Europa die Handels-sperre betreffend. Ihren Fürsten dargestellt. [Hamburg] 1809."

I have found no copy in the French form.

¹⁴In a supplementary note to Eliot, Oct. 28, 1809, Ebeling notes that he would have liked to include a few French and English Books. But he adds, "We have experience that such trifles were made a pretext for committing injustices."

TO DR. BENTLEY

APR. 2, 1810.

[Acknowledges receipt of 4 boxes with newspapers and a letter dated June 24, 1809; a fifth box which Capt James Brown of Salem told him had been sent was never received.]

Another Box with newspapers and a Parcel of ditto I got in December last by way of Copenhagen and Kiel, it was accompanied with a letter dated april 27, 1807 and the newest papers were of the same date.

[Ebeling himself had already sent off two boxes containing Klopstock's David, political and theological works, "Petrarcha and several other new poetical works" and several musical works including Bach's Symphonies, some new maps and several volumes of Göttingen learned newspapers. The titles, repeated here, were given in the letter of September 26, 1809. See p. 386.]

My Description of America is interrupted because I absolutely want some new Books and Maps before I can proceed. I hope to get them but am uncertain tho' I have applied to several persons. These are (1) the *newest* Edition of Morse's American Geogr and Gazetteer (my last are his Geogr 1802, Gazetteer 1797.) (2) The newest Edition of Scots Gazetteer (my edition is of 1794) (3) Madison's Map of Virginia. (4) The new map of North Carolina. I should not like to lack behind Mr Morse. This is the reason why I wish for his newest Editions.¹ Could you procure me them I should be very glad. As to the Map of Carolina, Colonel Burr whose acquaintance I made when he was here two months ago (now he is at Paris, as I see by the newspapers) gave me a direction tho [thro'] one of his friends in England, who had *his* copy of the Map of N. Carolina with orders to deliver it to me, but as I don't like to have any dealing with England or to occasion a loss to Mr Burr, so I cannot profit thereby. I have got from him several valuable materials for my book, and he promised me more. That he is able to give intelligence cannot be doubted. I had no occasion

¹See the note on p. 290; also his letter of April 17, 1812 to Barlow which shows he had then received Morse's Gazetteer of 1810.

and avoided even to ask him about his political situation, tho' he knew that I had read all the newspapers².

In November I got a very agreeable Letter of Rev Mr Eliot at Boston by Mr Web a very fine gentleman; I gave him an answer to Mr E. and several books for the Historical Society.

[He repeats the titles given in his letter to Eliot of October 25, 1809. See p. 399.]

In Case that Rev Dr Eliot should have not sent me allready Morse's Book, I would entreat you to let me have them. To Mr Morse I should [not?] like to ask him for them. But when you can get them without trouble, as also Scot and the Maps I shall be very glad, and pay the amount to the Captain who brings them in cash or such Books as you order.

I hope you enjoy good health, so I do, thank to Divine Providence. My firm belief in her Government of the world keeps above the distresses of our unparalleled times. I give you no account of news as all what can be said is contained in the newspapers. All what we know of transatlantic affairs comes by way of France it looses in the round about way of its volume, value and certainty.

If you sent me newspapers I wish you may *at present* not sent them by way of Copenhagen, nor in large boxes. A choosen

²Aaron Burr, under date of December 4, 1809 in his Journal, gives the following account of his visit to Ebeling.

"Went by appointment, to Professor Ebeling's. He is a most cheerful, amiable man of about 62. Perfectly deaf. The only mode of communication with him is by writing. He always carries in his pocket pencil and paper; and, when he asks a question, hands them to you to reply. When he has had your answer, he returns it to you; because, he says, persons may not choose to have their free conversations preserved in writing. He speaks, however, extremely well, both French and English. Takes great interest in all that concerns Americans. Is writing a statistical, geographical, political, . . . cal, &c., account of the United States. Has a quarto volume for each state, beginning North, and has got South as far as Virginia. I saw twelve of these quartos. The bruiillard is printed interleaved with blank paper, on which he continually makes his additions and corrections. His library of American books, i.e., books on American affairs, is nearly as large as all the Richmond Hill library. Geography is more particularly his department; and the extent and accuracy of his knowledge is astonishing. A part of his American works were published a few years ago. You will receive a copy, addressed to you by himself, as he understands that you read and write German. Passed near three hours with this amiable man." (The Private Journal of Aaron Burr. Rochester, 1903, vol. I, page 292.)

Burr's Journal gives other glimpses of Ebeling during the week of Dec. 3-10 which he spent in Hamburg. He met him first at Mrs. Sieveking's on the 3d; called on him on the 4th; received four letters of introduction from him to various German scholars on the 5th and occupied himself looking over American papers which Ebeling sent him; visited the Library on the 6th and passed half an hour with him, "always much amused"; and had further communications on the 7th and 8th. He left Hamburg December 10.

set of them by way of Tonningen, will be sufficient, but you will be so very kind as to keep the others for me till navigation is more save.

Wishing you sincerely every prosperity and happiness I have the honour to be with the highest esteem

Dear Sir

Your

Most obedient Servant

CDE Pr.

All what is addressed under my name to Messrs Brauneiser et Company at Tonningen will come save to my hand.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

JULY 31, 1810¹.

DEAR SIR

[Acknowledges the receipt of Eliot's letter of Apr. 2, 1810, and is expecting the arrival of a parcel sent by Capt. Webb.

He is still anxious to learn of the safe arrival of the boxes sent to Dr. Bentley by Capt. Brace with enclosures for Dr. Eliot, described in his letter of October 25, 1809. See p. . He sends his salutations to Dr. Morse and to Professor Peck.]

I shall be happy in procuring all kind of german books wanted by you, your Society and University, tho' I must advice to delay it some time till it is known what fate the trade of the world will have. If the advices given by the french Boards of Commerce and Manufactures are not powerfull, more so than the cries of nations, ruined by the prevailing measures.

In the mean time the literature of the German tho' under great restrictions and durance is not at a stand. I mention only such Books amongst the thousands published *this year* (many only under new titles to old editions, many also in Danemarc, France, Russia but by far the most part in Germany those in latin I shall mark with*.

[There follows a long account of recent publications classified by subjects and including fifty or more different authors.

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 94.

Under Divinity he speaks of "many valuable, many indifferent, few of the much diminished innovators, mystical or deistical, who never were prevailing, as dreamt by the now quite forgotten Burriel and Robinson² whose works translated early into german, tho' never suppressed, to be seen in every libraryan's shop, were quite disregarded by the abettors of old orthodoxy." We get a limpse of "Goethe's new Theory of Light and Colours written to destroy Newton's system, I dare not say with Newton's Spirit" and "Handel's Messiah for the Harpsicord with a german Text as made by Klopstock and prof. Ebeling jointly"]

Pardon Dear Sir this long letter to your
sincere friend and welwisher
C. D.

TO DR. BENTLEY

AUGUST 1, 1810.

DEAR SIR;

I have the pleasure to answer your kind letter of May 5th delivered me by the worthy young man, Mr. Treadwell, who assured me of your being in good health.

[The writer expresses his anxiety in regard to the safety of the boxes he has sent to Bentley, and recapitulates the account of letter and boxes forwarded,—two boxes in August 1809, letters of Nov. 3, 1809, April 3, 1810.]

I am much obliged to your Kindness for the trouble about the Map of Virginia. But I wish not to occasion expenses besides those troubles. Therefore I beg you will mention me what I owe you. If you sent me books or papers or maps, I willingly shall bear all the expenses when the Packages come by way of Tonningen, or Kiel or Lubeck only what is sent by way of Copenhagen or Gottenberg if in large weighty boxes occasions rather high expenses. It would be very unjust if they ever should fall at your charge. At present the risk of their being lost is great on account of the English cruisers if they pass the Belts. As soon as they are landed at Tonnigen or Kiel or Lubeck they are save and only subject to the good will of the french Douaniers, who are not severe with regard to books.

²He seems himself to have forgotten even how to spell their names.

[He speaks of the death of the noble Queen of Prussia, describes political conditions in Sweden, Denmark and Russia, and goes on to speak of literature.]

The state of our literature is languishing. The Booksellers trade is very much fettered. The arbitrary exactions of the postoffices now allmost under no controul and anxious to make money as fast as possible, the high freights a consequences of the interrupted trade, the dearness of paper, the want of money and buyers has discouraged the most entreprising booksellers, and now lately an exceeding high duty laid on the importation of foreign books in France, amounting to 50 per cent ad valorem. This prevents allmost all exchange of books between Fr and Germans. English Books are not seen at all nor appear there any translations in German, but more such in French. Of our best writers several are death since a few years. Muller the Historian also Wenk and Heinrich two able historians of particular parts of our history. Henke an excellent Theologue and Church historian, Dahl a good scholar and Exegete. Many veterans are living but write seldom books. Great many books printed as new ones are only new title pages; You will see a great number of even dear books but not many valuable original new ones. New editions of good books are published often. The philosophical squabbles seem to abate, the new sects have no praisers but they themselves. History is in vigour, but that of our wars and present times mostly party work. Poetry is at a stand, except some good Epigrammatists and such Translators as Voss. Pfeffel one of the best writer of fables is dead. The study of fine arts is increasing and produces now and then precious works as the Augusteum by Becker at Dresden or the Prints of all the statues in the Dresden Gallery. Another large Collection of many very old engravings in wood wonderfully preserved in the originals in a Cabinet of a Nobleman in Saxony now printed anew in chronological order in 2 Folio's. Philology is thriving but more in Programs and in Editions for Schools than in large and new ones of classic authors. Valkenaers and Toup's Theocritus have been reprinted. Schütz gives a good edition of Cicero's letters chronologically arranged and illustrated. Heyne enjoys health but reposes. So do Wolf. Beck is still busy.

Of novels we have none worth notice except Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften* (which is a chemical word understood by few Germans signifying the state of metals who in melting join with another and repel the other kinds. There is Genius in the book, but little invention and bad moral. A happy married couple take a male and female relation into their house who create a separation of their benefactors and for[m] two new couples one of them having a tragical exit, which contributes to the separation of the other. It does no good to see so many unhappy by their own imprudence and want of principles. Goethe has much been criticised, but highly exalted by his abettors.

In the Box which our worthy Mr. Treadwell took to his care You will find a complete Set of the Göttingen literary newspaper from 1801 to 1809. They are quite out of print, and very dear, each year 5 Dollars; but you will not consider them as of such price for you as I had them very cheap occasionally. By possessing them one can spare a great many books as their manner of reviewing is instructive. The *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* of 1802, 1806, 1807 are as complete as possible and belong to the most impartial and rich in large extracts. That of Leipzig is mostly written by Lipsian Professors, not preferable to the *Allgemeine* whose Authors are every where in Germany, Prussia, Helvetia. The *Jenaische Litt. Zeit.* whereof I sent only a specimen has a few fellow authors of the first rang as Voss, late Mr Muller, Wolf, Goethe, but is the seat of faction in Poetry, Philosophy (adheres blindly to the Natural philosophy of Schelling and Fichte, which is entirely metaphysical fancied stuff). *Bast epistola critica* is much praised, so is Lobeck's (a young man's) *Ajax* a beginning of a new Edition of *Sophocles*.

Gurlitts *Pindar* is a learned work, rather too critical. Nicolai's *Life of Eberhard* is worth reading and full of information on new german philosophy.

[With a few closing sentences, he signs himself E. P. H.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

AUGUST 27, 1810.

[The writer expresses his thanks for letters together with

books and a bundle of newspapers. "Washington's Life shall be my lecture these days; the rest of your sending will require more time."]

It is a great misfortune for me that I have neither the *last* editions of Morse's Geogr nor of his and Scott's Gazetteer. The more so as I find that my german antagonist (whom you will know by my Declaration of war in the *Neue Zeitung*) I mean Mr. Bertuch the Reviewer of my *Portgall* is in possession of them and will publish his *Geography of America* very soon; which certainly will be a severe loss for me and my bookseller, and amount very high to either of us. Bertuch dares not to answer my apology, but makes haste clandestinely, as I hear, to prevent my Plan of the continuation of my larger *Geography* and an *Abridgment* that perhaps could be worth to me of 8 or 900 Dollars, a sum not easily to be missed in these time. This I tell you confidently as to a Friend. I had written to more than four of my correspondents about these books but none sends me them. Perhaps it may be found in a parcel which Rev. Mr Eliot sent me, that is still at Gottenburgh, where Mr. Webb, a worthy young American, like *Your Friend Mr Treadwell*, left it, as he informs me.

As Dr. Morse has interrupted his correspondence with me I cannot expect he will send me his *New Editions*, as he did the former. Could you, Dear Sir, send me them by way of Copenhagen; as the other Danish ports are precluded. I would be obliged to you very much. A small parcel in paper containing two or three octavos by the post waggon is not too expensive to me. It will [be] less so when the Direction contains besides my name and abode the words: *Hierin gedruckte Bücher* (Herein printed books) I mean only when the parcel contains the above mentioned books, (of Morse only that part which contains America) You may suppose that I should not like to lack behind him in the newest topographical accounts. I wish and hope that Napoleon's Declaration of friendship to the Americans may have the effect of opening the European continental harbours to your vessels. Our hopes of peace vanish away more and more, as our ruin is more conscious every day. Heaven alone knows how that will end. To his Providence we confide.

TO DR BENTLEY

SEPT 4, 1811.

This letter, I hope will arrive safe, as I give it to one of my best friends, Mr Sieveking, a Merchant of our Town, who sets out for America in order to enrich his mercantile allready very extensive knowledge. He will tell you how I live, and in what situation we are.¹ The rest you may learn from our newspapers, which I am to send you. If in any way you can promote the design of my friend and make him known to the most eminent Merchants of your Town you will do a service to a young man of the best character and who belongs to a family long ago revered and esteemed in our town and abroad.

As to literary news we begin to be somewhat poor. Our litterary intercourse with Germany is in some degree interrupted, till the new measures and orders concerning it, are quite regulated. The book-fair at Leipsic and in general the book-trade underwent a great change, but this is no hinderance to the activity of the German literati. It would not even have taken place, if some of them had shewn prudence enough, not to meddle with political affairs, which do not belong before their tribunal, and whereon their advice is not required. This may seem strange to an American, who daily sees that even Newspaper writers take hold of the helm of the state and rule nations by the sceptre of their pens.

[He speaks briefly of the more flourishing branches of science and promises to send the new Hebrew Dictionary of Gesenius.]

I am busy and daily at work on my continuation of America and now the more able to complete a new volume, as your kindness has furnished me the newest materials, I wanted. If I could get the Census, at least a copy in a letter from what belongs to Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, I should be very happy. The general sum would also be acceptable as it serves to compare the population of each state with the Total. This will be inserted into the newspapers, but I am interdicted from the perusal of them for a while. There appeared at Paris an American Journal (*Bibliothèque américaine*) but that has been dropt since two years. So we hear nothing from your country but what transpires through french news papers. I

¹In regard to Sieveking, see the note on p. 286. Bentley notes in his *Diary*, iv. 91, March 31, 1812, "Mr. Sievekings from Hamburg with me."

should be glad to know what Congress have resolved about the new national University to be established at the city of Washington. I hope it will succeed, when its plan is laid down according to that of the Scottish and german Universities. If the state of the last (as described in the valuable german books of Michaelis, Brandes and others which I can send you, if you wish for them) was more known in foreign countries, it would be very instructive and usefull, especially when new institutions of the kind are to be erected.

TO JOEL BARLOW

UNDATED (probably early in 1812)¹

DEAR SIR

Mr Thayer, your worthy countryman, going to Paris, offers me the occasion to renew my high esteem and friendship to you, and to remember you of me, who am still alive and still a warm friend to America, tho' translated into french lately. I at the same time have the pleasure to answer a letter, you honoured me with, which was delivered to me by Dr Kerner but one year ago, tho' it was written about ten years ago. You see that strange things happen in this sublunary world even in correspondence, as well as in realms etc.

That I, as a constant attentive reader of American Newspapers, allways accompanied you through your meritorious live, that your patriotism was allways before my eyes—you may imagine. We often spoke of our dear Mr Barlow at Dr Kerners, at Mr Poels, at late Mr Sievekings, all remember you with esteem and wish you here once more. Things and persons have undergone since your departure a great change, as you may suppose. Good worthy Mr Sieveking is no more, and his heirs lately were undone by the state and misfortunes of

¹The letter is addressed on the outside

To his Excellency

Joel Barlow Esq.

Minister of the United States of North-

America at the French Court

favoured by Mr Thayer

of Boston, Massachusetts.

at

Paris

Barlow had arrived in Paris on his diplomatic mission in September, 1811. In the fall of 1812 he journeyed to Wilna in Poland at the bidding of Napoleon who was then in Russia, but found the French army in full retreat. Having contracted inflammation of the lungs, he died at a little village near Cracow on December 24.

present trade. Mr Poel retired into the country where he lives entirely for his worthy family. Dr Kerner is well-established here and happy with a good wife and family. As to myself I live quite retired. Mr Büsh died in 1800 and his lady a year before by an unlucky fall down stairs. Since that time my batchelor life was quite solitary and devoted only to the education of my nephews and to the arrangement of a very good public library (whereof they made me librarian) which I found in great confusion, but with the help of our former government and the assistance of great many patriotic burghers was able to increase, to complete more and more and to make usefull for the public. The continual business arising therefrom made me neglect my description of America, which was interrupted, when I had published the Geography and History of Maryland. In the last years when I was to resume the task, the fetters laid on navigation and the want of new materials became a great incumbrance and hinderness, which lately increased by the law, that forbids importation of all foreign books, unless approved of before in the capital of the Empire, which it renders allmost impossible to be furnished with American books. Even the correspondence thither is clogged with difficulties by the measures of the Danes. You see that learning is now with us confined to certain branches, and the necessary intercourse in literature labours under great difficulties. These hardships will go over with time, as we ourselves. This comfort is rather hightened by my advancing quickly into old age. My health and mental faculties are not impaired, as far as I see, but my hearing is allmost lost. The better for it, as I am disburdened thereby from taking notice of much nonsense, spoken particularly in these times of new liberty. I only regrett my being deprived of the comfort of music which would be very great for me who loved it so much during my whole live. But I indemnify myself by reading, especially the ancient, and the few modern ones, who vie with their excellence.

It is no flattery when I assure you that your Columbus is among those. I had just ordered the new edition for our library,² when all litterary intercourse with America was interrupted by those piratical *fiends* of literature etc. who even condemn books as lawfull prize.

²See note on p. 415.

The state of german literature is greatly changed since your absence. A new nonsensical and fantastical Philosophy called philosophy of nature engrossed all learning, and crazed the wit of our young generation. But I hope, by perseverance, the more sensible men and true philosophers have laid already the ax to the root of that poisonous tree. The study of ancient literature, of natural history, of mathematics which was still very vigorous in Germany begins to prevail and the loud outcry of the worthies against the new-established Idol contributes to ridiculize it, the best way to banish and suppress non-sense. Our poets are gone. Goethe amuses himself with optics in order to prove that Newton was blind, or writes Novels whose moral tendency is rather immoral. Wieland translated masterly and illustrated the letters of Cicero; Voss continues to amend his translations and has given new excellent ones of Hesiod[torn] Catullus and Tibullus, as also of Horace, only that seems to be blamed that he con[forms] our prosody too anxious to the latin one, and thereby hurts now and then the genius of the language. Klopstock said of him in the name of our language.

Wer mich vergriechet, wer mich verlateint, den hass ich.

Who grescifies who latinifies me, I hate him.

Two modern Poets, of forlorn genius, Messrs Schlegel, endeavoured to introduce a new taste mixed out of Spanish imagination and mystical bombast, but their reign is like their usurped disdain of all our best former poetry, verging to its end. Another kind of poetical reformer wishes to introduce the language and taste of our ancestors in the middle age and even publishes their imperfect works for the use of schools! All of short duration.

But there would be no end of my letter, if I was to continue my complaints as an old laudator temporis acti.

Your kindness will excuse this long letter, and my talkativeness. It is a refreshment of spirits, in these dispiriting days, to converse with a friend of ancient true humanity, taste and manner of thinking. I think myself happy when you kindly continue to think well of me

Your
unalterable friend and wellwisher
EBELING. Professor and Librarian

I lately had the pleasure of the acquaintance of two very worthy french learned men Messrs Cuvier and Noel who were here to visit our schools. You know them without doubt, as also my dear Friend, Mr von Humbold, a man also of true great genius and science. If you see them I wish kindly to be remembered to them.—permit me only to add that I have been greatly comforted these days by the lecture of President Madisons excellent Memoires against the english piratical principles.³ I should like to translate them into german.

[TO JOEL BARLOW]

17 APRIL 1812

DEAR SIR

Your kind permission makes me bold to resume our correspondence. I should have done it much earlier if my situation had allowed me to follow the wishes of my heart. The loss of a beloved Sister and many other family affairs required all my attention, time and care. Could I have transformed all my thoughts on you into letters, you would very often have heard of me. The state of *our* literary world, which intercludes us almost from all what in Germany is done in the Letters and Sciences, (as we cannot read any of the literary Journals published at Göttingen, Halle, Leipsic and as the few french ones give but poor accounts thereof and even of their own excellent productions *in Sciences*) I returned once more to America and am now writing (not publishing as formerly) the Continuation of my American Geography, as also a general abridgment of the whole American Geography. But alas here I am again involved in great difficulties, by the warfare at Sea. My Correspondence is entirely interrupted and dropt. If even it could be connived to carry it on by way of England I never would chuse that way as long as it is not lawfully permitted. But since all smuggling is suppressed no American sends me any thing by way of England. You will pardon me, when

³This must be Madison's "Examination of the British doctrine, which subjects to capture a neutral trade, not open in time of peace." [Washington, 1806.]* Ebeling's copy was sent to him by Bentley. It is inscribed "For the Rev^d W^m Bentley from his friend Jacob Crowninshield. Washington, 17 Jany 1806," with the further note, "This is supposed to have been written by a member of the administration—Mr. Madison, & it does honor to him."

this increases my antipathy against these british Crayfishes. What belongs to english literary progresses we are utterly ignorant thereof. Your Observations on the progresses of usefull Sciences, on literary Luxury are very just, but what I complained of regards even these higher Sciences in Germany, not only the belles Letters. Our philosophy particularly is converted into an unintelligible mystical jargon, this creeps into all other branches. I am sure it will not last long time, but it spoils particularly in the Universities the rising generation. Only Göttingen, Leipsic and Halle oppose against it. You would wonder how common sense could be lost so quite if you read the productions of our present metaphysical philosophers especially those called Natural Philosophers, among them celebrated men, and even of Genius and Learning. Our Eloquence, Poetry etc is at a Stand, and our witticism is downright absurdity. The influence of this depravation on the higher Sciences is severely felt, as they loose that clear, sober and manly exposition, they enjoyed before, and enjoy still with the best french and english authors. The only hopes we have is in our Philology, but this is corrupted by intestine civil wars, moved by the heads of parties against one another, and by pedantical adherence to unimportant grammatical bagatelles, whereby the grand spirit of the ancient classics is often in danger to be lost. But what is it necessary to expose all this in our general revolutionary age. Let eãch literato do his best to promote usefull knowledge and leave the rest to providence.

But to return to America. As I have spent a great deal of my life and all my money and even much of my health, and have collected a very great mass of materials, I wish to complete at least that part of my work which relates to the United States. What regards the former Spanish America, my friend Mr v. Humboldt has done enough for it,¹ and the new face of things which will be produced by the revolution now at work, will not soon neither be settled nor known in the cisatlantic world. English, Dutch and french America will undergo great changes by the peace if it once be made. Your States only are

¹Alexander von Humboldt, his "Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne" published in Paris in 1811 and at the same time at London in an English translation, a four volume work.

- not subject to such kind of changes, but the more to the nobler ones by continual increase of population, cultivation, political and literary improvements. My materials go as far as the first months of 1810. My description of Virginia is completed; but for being worth printing it wants very much. I rely on your kindness and friendship, that you will pardon me, if I apply to you for relief. I formerly got now and then some supplies by way of Copenhagen; but at present the introduction of foreign books is subject to so very much difficulties, and the intercourse between America and Danemark so much disturbed, that I despair to get any thing by that Quarter.

Should it not be possible by your kind protection to get some books and maps from your country, which I am absolutely in need of, to be enabled to publish my work? I suppose the english will respect flags of truce send from America to France, tho' (as I have had the misfortune to experience myself) they do not respect American ships going to Danemarc or Sweden. Your Secretary will perhaps have the goodness for me to order these few Books for me, when you are so kind as to persuade him to do me the favour. Whatever expences occur, Mr Jean *Klosterman fils*, Libraire, rue du Jardinot no 13, quartier St. André-des-Arcs, has order from my Librarian, Mr Bohn, to pay them and to charge himself with the sending me them savely. As the forwarding these Books by the post would be far to expensive for me. Your kindness will pardon this bold demand. What is the most necessary to me, is *Bishop Madisons Map of Virginia* and the *Newest Census 1810*. If even this was to be found at Paris either in your or in any of your Friends possession and I could have lent it only for a sennight, I would be made very happy thereby, Or if you possess the *Census* and would be so very kind as to order a copy of that of *Virginia* and the *two Carolinas*, I should esteem it as a great favour.

Excuse, Dear Sir, my importune petition. I should not hazard it if I was not convinced of your great goodness, and if my love for America was not so very warm as when I began my acquaintance with her. My geographical distress may be another excuse. My description of Virginia is finished, but what a figure shall it make when the Virginians see that I don't even know exactly where their counties of Cabell, Giles,

Mason, Monroe, Nelson, Page, Brooke etc are situated. Morse's Gazetteer of 1810 leaves me in the dark, and I dare say I know even a little more thereabout, than him. But a little knowledge is a very bad thing. I had a mind to dedicate my description of Virginia to Mr Jefferson as thanksgiving for his excellent Notes, but I have dropt that idea on account of the imperfect State of my Elaboration. Formerly I got the most important Messages and Reports in Congress by the kindness of Dr. Mitchill and Mr Crowninshield, but the first I hear is now in England or France, and the last is dead. So I have not even the Acts of Congress complete.

I dare add a very minute (perhaps you call it pedantical) question, concerning the pronounciation of the State of *Tennessee*. We are uncertain whether the accent lies on the second or third syllable? Tĕnĕssĕe or Tĕnĕssĕe?

I have been so happy as to procure the last edition of your *Vision of Columbus*², and have read and compared it with that which I owe to your kindness. This made me very happy as I found my esteem for that excellent poem was even hightened (high as it was) by the new revision. I regret that no Copies, as far as I know, are at sale in Germany. This remembers me of a German Poem which the patriarch of our poetry, *Bodmer* of Zurich wrote in honour of Columbus in 1753. He calls it *Colombona*. It is far from being a Masterpiece, but as in all his poems, amongst the productions of art, has some happy strokes of genius. Your country wants still a proper name. Should that of *Colombona* not be a very sonorous one? as also a *Colombonian*? That new one invented by Dr Mitchill, *Fredonia*³, seems to involve no just idea. Nor can one find

²Barlow's *Vision of Columbus*, in its amplified form, "The Columbiad," had been brought out as a sumptuous quarto by the poet's friend Robert Fulton, Philadelphia, 1807. Ebeling already had a copy of the *Vision*, "Fifth edition, corrected," Paris, 1793.* This is inscribed "To Professor Ebeling from his friend the Author." On the fly-leaf Ebeling has noted a description of the quarto edition of 1807 and has added, "This Edition was printed at the Expense of Mr. Fulton to whom Mr. B. dedicated it. Mr. Fulton is known by his discoveries in the usefull arts and by his knowledge of the physical sciences. New preface shewing the poet's political and moral design quite the reverse of Homer's and Virgil's."

³Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, one of Ebeling's New York correspondents, issued a pamphlet under the title, "Address to the Fredes or people of the United States on the 28th anniversary of their independence, New York, 1804." pp. 8. This is a song of sixteen stanzas. On the title-page the following printed note is inserted in the midst of the title—"The

out the derivation. If from Freedom why change m into n. There is no such word as Fredon in any language (the french cannot at all be ment) it could be derived from. Nor does it meet with great approbation in America, if I am not mistaken.

But I must finish this long letter which you perhaps will adscribe to the talkative old age, I entered into. I only repeat my excuses, relying on your great kindness. I wish to be remembered to your Lady, and to assure her of my great respect. Accept of the same assurance towards yourself and of my high esteem of your invaluable friendship.

Dear Sir

Your
most obed. humble Servant

EBELING

I am sorry to add that our common friend, Dr Kerner⁴ who brought me your letter once, died these days after a short epidemical fever. He was universally beloved.

List of American Maps and Books⁵

which I desire most to procure in behalf
of my American Geography.

1. Bishop *Madison's* Map of Virginia published in 1808 or 1809.*
2. New Map of North-Carolina from actual Survey by *John Price* and *John Strother*. 1809. It was once announced to be at sale in New York by Robert McDermut, in Brodway for 6½ Dollar*
3. The late Census of the Year 1810.*
4. *Burke's* History of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Petersburg, Virginia printed by Dickson. I have the first

modern and appropriate name of the people of the United States, is Fredes or Fredonians, as the geographical name of their country is Fredon or Fredonia and their relations are expressed by the terms Fredonian or Fredish." Mitchill's suggestion excited some discussion at the time, but when, forty years later, the New York Historical Society, of which Mitchill was an active member, proposed the name Allegania, Fredonia was not so much as mentioned. See Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. April and May, 1845, II, 310, 315.

⁴Dr. Johann Georg Kerner, one of the ardent symphatizers with the French Revolution in its earlier stages but afterwards a pronounced opponent of the French Empire, had held various public offices of trust. He died in Hamburg, April 7, 1812.

⁵The list of books wanted is so carefully drawn up that no notes of identification are needed. Those titles are marked with an asterisk which Ebeling afterward received and which are now in the Harvard Library.

volume 1804; but not the second and third, the last published since the decease of the author. It is sold by the Editor of the Aurora at Philadelphia. (Vol. I*)

5. Dr *Ramsay's* History of Carolina from the first settlement in 1690 to the year 1808. 2 vols 8 vo. New York sold by Langworth at the Shakespear Gallery.

Not his History of the *Revolution* of South Carolina which is elder being published at Trenton 1785, in Two volumes This I have.

6. *Hugh Williamson's* History of North Carolina, lately published*
7. Collection of the Laws of Kentucky. Lexington printed for Bradford 1806.
8. Geo *Sibbald* Observations on the pine land of Georgia with a geographical Sketch of the State of Georgia. Augusta 1801
9. *Lewis's* and *Clark's* Map of North America published 1807.

The first Nr 1 to 6 are by far the most important to me.

TO DR BENTLEY

MAY 22, 1815

DEAR SIR

I make use of the first ship going from hence to America to write to my best friend in Northamerica, tho' my letter must take a round about way; for as I hear, no ship from your town nor from Boston is expected so soon, as I wish to have good news from you, and to give you such from myself. Thank God I have outlived all these dreadfull years of late and am now in as good health as I can pretend in my age, and in better and higher spirits, as is usual in the 74th year of Life. My last account, which I got from Mr. Sieveking gives me the best notice of your being well, and I hope this will reach you in good health. How often have I thought on you and your country, especially since we were restored to freedom, and you involved in an unhappy war, still the consequence of that french Revolution which promised so great benefit, such happiness for the whole world, and gave nothing but misery to all Europe!

[The greater part of the following long letter, apparently the first which the writer had been able to send in three years and a half, gives a recital of the sufferings of the people of Hamburg during the period of the French occupation.]

Now we are beginning to make the best use of our freedom. Last autumn I was very sickly, especially of sleeplessness and indigestion, once I was also at twilight overrun in the street by a cart, but, thank God, I escaped with only a bruise on the forehead which was soon cured. At present my description of Virginia is printing; about 20 sheets are finished. I hope to send it soon. The manuscript was ready for the press long ago, but I would not submit to the french pretension to send it to Paris for being examined by a Censor or even suppressed by him. Afterwards we were in great want of composers, and I could not send it elsewhere to be printed as the great many nomina propria required my own care in correcting the proof sheets. I have a mind to dedicate this volume to Mr. Jefferson. As some copies will be printed with the particular title of *Description of Virginia* perhaps it would be possible to give a translation of this part to your countrymen corrected and improved as also enlarged as to what belongs the last 4 or 5 years. Mr. Morse will perhaps not like my performance as I could not make much use of his Geography of this State, which is mostly copied verbatim from Jeffersons Notes. As to the History of Virginia I regret much not to have at hand the 2 and 3 part of Burke's History¹. The first I owe to your kindness. Your literary History of these 5 last years is almost unknown to me, the english Reviews don't scarce make mention of any book published in America. Perhaps your unhappy war has also prevented your authors from publishing much. That was only the case in Germany with several countries occupied by the French especially those that were incorporated, yet one of the two annual fairs was always very fertile in Books a[t] Leipsic, but not so many good ones as formerly. The price of books is raised beyond measure, almost equal to the english tho' not so well printed. Large and pretious works are seldom undertaken except in natural history.

¹Apparently Ebeling never succeeded in getting these two volumes of Burk's History. Only Vol. I came with his library to America.

[An account of the French censorship over books and periodicals follows with a few notes on the condition of the German universities.]

I shall add a list of Books which I have collected for you ready to be put on board as soon as a ship arrives that will take them. When my finances have recovered a little from the french incroaches I shall be able to do more.

[The writer goes on to give an account of Murat's operations in Italy and of the forces gathering on the north prepared to overwhelm the French army.]

Now I must take leave from my much revered Friend. I hope to be able to send you soon my collections. I wish for your newspapers and should be glad if the second volume of Holme's annals appeared, as also of Burk's History of Virginia the 2 and 3 volumes to have them. I have got Madison's map of Virginia. But I find only 96 counties therein. I know that a new one *Cabell* is created lately but cannot find out its situation. Two others have been separated as I hear but I am ignorant of their names and situation. You will greatly oblige me, by informing me thereof.

In one box I have laid some books for the Historical Society. Mr. Sieveking told me, that Dr. Eliot was no more in life.² Should those sad news be true, I wish to know who is now Secretary of the Society.

Once more I bid you my respectfull adieu, being with sincere esteem and gratitude,

Dear Sir

Your most devoted and most obedt Servant

C. D. EBELING, Prof.

Books ready to be sent to the Rev. Mr. Bentley³

²The Rev. John Eliot died February 14, 1813 and was succeeded by the Rev. Abiel Holmes, as Corr. Secretary of the Historical Society.

³The following long list contains many titles mentioned in previous letters of three and four years earlier. During these intervening years, when he had been entirely cut off from his American correspondents, Ebeling had carefully kept the books intended for them and now at the first opportunity sent them forward. Few of the titles require any further identification. Those of which Ebeling's copies are now to be found on the shelves of the Harvard Library are marked with a double asterisk.**

5-6) Eichhorn's larger work is his "Geschichte der litteratur von ihrem Anfang bis auf die neuesten Zeiten." 6 vol. Göttingen, 1805. The abridgement is his "Allgemeine Geschichte der Cultur und Litteratur des neueren Europa." 3vol. Göttingen, 1796-99.

1. Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek Vol 93 to 104. 24 parts
2. Berliner Monatsschrift

Many nos. to complete the defective volumes with continuation to the end of vol XXV when it was dropt. I shall be carefull to wait on the occasion to get the wanting Parts, which are quite out of print, as is the case with all our periodical writings, as soon as they are published.

- **3. *Meyer's* Skizzen von Hamburg The best and well written Book concerning our Town.
4. *Gesenius's* hebrew Dictionary 2 volumes
5. *Eichhorn's* large literary History T. 1, 2 complete T. 3, 4 as far as published 6 volumes
6. *His* abridgment inclusive the larger of the last three centuries down to our time 3 vols. Really the best of all Literary Histories.
7. *Gurlitt's* Translations and Commentary on Pindar as far as published. 8 Parts
8. *Il Messia.* italian by Zingo [Zigno] 2 volumes. The excellent author of this translation was a captain in the Austrian service, renowned by his being the means that the Austrians could execute the famous surprize at Hochkirchen. He being the first entering in the prussian camp and overpowering an artillerist, who was just to fire his gun and to give the allarm. This amiable man made the revision of his Translation here under Klopstock's eyes. Some years afterwards he was murdered at Venise.
9. *Lessing's* poems, with the best of Gleim's (The rest is stuff which is in this volume)
9. *Semler's* paraphrasis Evang S. Johannis P. 1, 2
10. *Fleury's* Histoire ecclesiastique in 20 Parts. Considered, as you know, by the Roman Catholiks as being their best. His continuators are of no value.

13) G. F. A. Wendeborn's Erinnerungen aus seinem leben, herausgegeben von C. D. Ebeling. 2 vols. Hamburg, 1813.

14) Joh. Aug. Nocselt. Anweisung zur Kenntniss der besten allgemeinen Bücher. 4^o vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig, 1800.**

A continuation by C. F. L. Simon was published in 1813.

19) Joh. Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim. Halladat, oder Das rote Buch. Hamburg, 1774.** With note in Ebeling's hand on the title-page and elaborate book-plate of Magdalene Marie Charlotte Ackerman.

21) L. S. D. Mutsaenbecher. Nachricht von den in März 1814 in Altona herrschenden Krankheiten. Altona, 1814.

11. Jablonski's *Historia ecclesiastica* 2 volumes
The best compendium of the Reformed
- **12. *Spittler's* and *Plank's* [Spittler and Planck] *Kirchengeschichte*. newest edition. The best and most impartial of the Lutheran's.
13. *Wendeborn's* curious Life published by myself
N. B. when under the french yoke
- **14. *Nösselt's* Theological Library. a well chosen Collection A new edition after the author's death was published last year but the continuation is without all merit and miserable
15. *Bossuet's* Universal History 6 volumes
The continuation of [i. e. by] *Cramer* (one of our classical German authors) is much esteemed. His Remarks and Extracts concerning the scholastical Philosophy and Theology are excellent. He discontinued the book out of want of leisure when removed to Kiel as Chancellor of the University.
16. *Spalding's* vom Werth der Gefühle
A philosophical work opposing Mysticism
- **17. *Jerusalem's* Nachgelassene Schriften 2 volumes
18. *Jahrbuch* der Elbmündungen
Shewing the state of our departement during the French yoke
- **19. Halladad. The best poem of *Gleim*.
20. Nachricht von der aus Hamburg wertriebenen
21. *Mutzenbecher's* account of the salvation of the exiled Hamburgers. Very faithfull
22. *Spinoza* Tractatus philosophicus. published at Amsterdam not here. Very scarce but full of luminous inquiries.
23. *Griesbach's* New Testament Vol. I. newest edition. the second to follow.
24. *Klopstock's* Herman well translated by *Cramer* the younger, son to the continuator of *Bossuet*
He was enraptured by the french Revolution, went through all its changements and died lately at Paris somewhat in distress.
25. *Klopstock's* Portrait by *Preister* (?) the best extant

26. *Michaelis's* Mittel die Hebraische Sprache zu verstehen
 27. *His* hebrew grammar with *his* dictates thereon on.
 28. *Reimarus's* Doleances
 a remarkable pamphlet, confiscated by order of Napoleon, but the author not molested for it.
 **29. *Schiller's* Maria Stewart His masterpiece except one scene which is never brought on the theatre, when performed, as considered against religious devotion.
 30. *Michaelis's* Lexicon Hebraicum 6 volumes 4to His last and perhaps principal work
 31. *His* Comentations 2 volumes 4to
 32. *Dathe* Prophetæ minores
 33. *Döderlein's* Esaias
 34. *Teller's* Wörterbuch des Neuen Testaments
 35. *Schröckh's* Lebenbeschreibungen with prints
 36. *Ernesti's* Anmerkungen über das N. Testam.
 **27. *Alberti's* predigten. 2 volumes
 The worthy divine's who was so much persecuted by our Archpriest and learned but malicious zealot Goeze
 **38. *Less* wider Reimarus and his famous *Fragments*
 39. *Kypke's* Oberservationes in N. T. 2 Parts
 40. *Michaelis'* orientalische Bibliothek Vol. 1-24
 **41. *Gabler's* Theological Journal 5 volumes
 the continuation will be sent per next
 42. Several pamphlets particularly to shew the present state of our schools
 43. *Reimarus's* de vita sua with his fathers life, published by myself.
 44. *Memoria Reimari* published by myself

TO DR. BENTLEY

JULY 8, 1815.

DEAR SIR

I hope you have received my long letter, which I sent you via New York on May 30th having no other opportunity, I could send it but by that circuitous way. You will have learnt by that letter, what was our fate and especially mine during all that long time our correspondence was interrupted. You will have friendly been anxious about Hambro' and myself. Our

town and all my fellow-citizens would have been exceedingly happy, if they had not suffered more than I and my family during the whole time of oppression, we sighed under. My health has not been impaired neither, and I enjoy the best of it, as much as I ever could wish for in my age of 74.

My occupations returned to America and my description of Virginia is printing now (20 sheets are completed.) When the rest is finished I hope to be able to send it you with three Boxes of Books, I have ready for you. It would be a great pleasure to me, in Case no Ships from Salem should soon arrive here to let me have an address to one of your Friends at Boston to whom I could direct these cases. The contents I hope will please you, as enumerated in the list that accompanied my letter. This I hope found you in good health enjoying every comfort of life. The unhappy war America was involved in I presume had no influence into your situation as no English entered your State.

[The rest of the letter is filled with a lively account of the battle of Waterloo as reported in Germany, with rumors in regard to the latest developments in France.]

How much I long [for good] accounts of you, Dear Sir, I don't want to assure you. Accomplish my wishes as soon as you are able. What manythings am I to learn about my dear America, unknown to me almost since 5 years! How instructive will be the newspapers you have been kindly sparing for me! You shall have our best, which is now that of Altona¹, in return. I need no to add many protestations and assurances of my great esteem towards you and of the sincerity with which I am sincerely

Dear Sir
ever your much obliged friend and servant
C D EBELING

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT 4, 1815

DEAR SIR

A short Letter dated April 3 came but a few weeks ago to my hand, it was written by you and convinced me of your being in

¹Altonaischer Mercurius, 1799 to Aug. 14, 1815 (1801, 1810, 1813 incomplete; 1811, 1812 missing).**

good health. You may imagine that it gave me great joy. I regret only that Mr Tichnor¹ did not come hither but send me the letter from Göttingen. Yet I was able to introduce him to several professors at Göttingen who are my friends, as Dr Blumenbach, Heeren and the royal Librarian Behnecke. Perhaps on their return to America I shall have the pleasure to see Mr Ticknor and Professor Everett his Companion. I have written to them and hope to get agreeable accounts concerning you. I hope at least some of my letters have reached you. The first I was able to write you, was sent by my Friend, Mr Sieveking in 1813². which he assures to have delivered. Afterwards I send a long letter³ inclosed to Rev Mr Miller at New York, as no ships from hence bound for Boston were to be found; this I fear was long delayed tho' written early in this year because the Ship by which it went sailed far later than I hoped. The last⁴ was send by the post May 30. I could not avoid these round-about ways.

The present is to advise you, that I shipped a large box with Books and some news papers by the William, Capt. Salomon Davies, bound to Boston, addressed to Mr Timothy Williams the Brother of late Consul Williams here our common Friend. I hope this will arrive in due time and be acceptable.

The state of our literature begins to revive. Much is printed but a great part is stuff produced by distress and written for money's sake. One half of all books, pamphlets etc regard the war passed and present, and particularly its detested Author and his Life. Great many Anecdotes, probaly the most part false. In France the first month in 1814 of Lewis' return they published 200 pamphlets *against* Bonaparte. What a despicable Authorship when we know that many of these scriblers exalted him before to heaven. One

¹Edward Everett and George Ticknor went abroad together in the spring of 1815 to prepare themselves by study in Germany for teaching in Harvard University. They reached Göttingen August 4, 1815 and remained there the greater part of two years. Bentley had given them both letters of introduction to Ebeling which they promptly forwarded.

²This was 1811. See the letter, p. 408 and the entry in Bentley's Diary, quoted on the same page.

³The letter of May 22, 1815. It bears a New York postmark, July 28.

⁴His *last* letter, July 8, must have been sent by private hand also. The address reads "favoured via New York" and it is postmarked "Princeton, N. J. Dec. 5."

said in his complimentary oration to B., "God created B—and reposed"! What blasphemy! All such catchpennies are translated. Now and then one finds an impartial author, who writes without passion and prejudice.

Amongst the Books I send you, please to remark the following

[The list of books which follows is drawn from the longer list added to the letter of May 22. The notes are so similar in tenor that nothing is gained by repeating them in print.]

My resources for the newest American Geography, Statistik and History are quite exhausted. By the next Ship I hope to send you my description of Virginia. I could not add its History because I wanted the 2 and 3 Volume of Burk's History of Virginia. It was in vain, that I ordered it from Philadelphia. I hear there are at present 99 counties in that state; I know only of 97; could you let me know the situation, name and boundaries of the new ones. So I am ignorant of the frontiers of Cabell County erected in 1808. What I wish the most for is *Tench Coxe's* Statment of the Arts and Manufactures of the U. S. [for the year 1810. Prepared for the Treasury Department. 1814.] lately published and Brackenridge's Views of Louisiana*; but more especially the former. You would oblige me much by procuring me that. I wrote for it to Philadelphia but have not yet an answer. The unlucky dead of your worthy Dr Ramsay grieves me very much; he was very obliging towards me, and was just renewing our correspondence when I heard of his sad fate. His works make his memory everlasting.

What do you think, should it be adviceable to dedicate my description of Virginia to your great Jefferson? What would, in case you approve of it, be his title. The predicament Excellency belongs still to him I suppose.

I find my long letter must be finished, when I shall not miss the Post of this day. I hope to hear soon of you and to get your opinion concerning the late war, its causes, issue and the consequences of the peace. If by your kind endeavours you could help me to the papers published for the Congress, I should infinitely be obliged to you. The inland situation of Washington is a great obstacle for me, to get such papers by

way of Philadelphia. Pray tell me also what was intended by the Hartford Convention? Were they in earnest for a separation? or was it only to awe the opposition party into the consent of a peace with England? Your news papers will inform me thereof also I hope; but your opinion is more important to me.

I wish you health prosperity and contentment for ever and recommend myself to your Friendship being always

Dear Sir

Your most devoted Servant

C D EBELING

TO DR. BENTLEY

MARCH 25, 1816

DEAR SIR

I have the honour to answer to three of your kind letters viz (1) that of April 3, 1815 sent to me by Mr Everett from Göttingen (2) another May 1815 which with the parcel annexed to it containing the very excellent History of Printing in America of the Honorable President Thomas, and a letter of Mr Secretary Fiske, who announced me the great honor conferred upon me by your praiseworthy Antiquarian Society. This reached me but *February 1st of this year*. The river being frozen it was impossible to answer it sooner; and even this I must regret to send via New York not hearing of any New England Ship being expected here soon. I am sorry not to be able to pay the whole postage, our postmaster refusing to make the letter free for your Town. Be so kind as to seal the annexed letter and to send it to Mr Fiske. As soon as a Ship goes from hence to Boston or Salem I shall write a long letter to the worthy President Thomas, accompanying with some very old printed Books out of the 15 Century and several Books concerning the invention of printing. We have a great many, containing even juridical proofs that the art of printing with moveable types was invented at Strasburg and Mayence. These proofs convicted even the celebrated Meerman, as I certainly know by his late deceased equally learned Son, Baron Meerman, who was my academical Friend at Leipsic and afterwards visited me here and entertained a correspondence with me. (3) your longer letter of Jan. 24, 1816 came to hands three days ago by way of Hague. It gave me much pleasure to see that my last invoice of

books reached you and was acceptable. I have already collected some others whereto I shall join copies of my description of Virginia. This volume when nearly completed was in great danger of being shipwrecked. The Bookseller for whom it was printed failed unexpectedly. Mr Bohn a very respectable Possessor of a Bookseller trade of very long standing and respectability, going sickly, retired to Leipsic in whose Neighbourhood he purchased a villa and left his whole trading house to a young man whom everybody considered as able and as honest. But in 5 years he managed so ill that he was obliged to declare a bankruptcy of 150,000 marks and to abscond. Happily I have rescued my book (not a copy being sold as four Sheets were not yet printed.) It would have been a severe loss for me, but now it was saved. I wish it may be liked in America and expect your frank critical review. I endeavoured to be as impartial as possible, especially in doing justice to a State that gave America so very great men in war and peace. I have refuted that slander which was spread against this State in great many Traveller's books and found out the source thereof. Unhappily I had not the second volume of the Collection of Acts published 1808, nor the 2 and 3 volume of Burke's History. The Newspapers I owe to your kind care as far as 1810 were my only help. So I fear not to have known all new changes in the Government etc. But the universal calamity of Europe and the general prostration of commerce with America will excuse me. I shall soon publish Supplements to this and all my former volumes. I am very much obliged to your kindness, Dear Sir, for having written in my behalf to your great Jefferson. I lament that I cannot write my book in english or send the Mst to so great a Man, or even to other worthy Gentlemen as for Example Dr Tucker, Bishop Madison. What you refer out of Mr J letter shews the man of great principles, of Knowledge of the world, and of a philanthropy uncommon unless to such philosophical minds—I have sent Mr Everett several letters to introduce him to the most learned Professors at Göttingen, whom I knew. I see by the Göttingen *gelehrte anzeigen* that his learned treaty¹ has been

¹Mr. Paul Revere Frothingham, the biographer of Everett, thinks that Everett's "Defence of Christianity," 1814, is probably the learned treatise mentioned. See his "Edward Everett," 1925, p. 28.

read there with satisfaction. I wish that on his return to America he might pass through Hamburg. In Consequence of your wishing that I might indite to you the works I wished to get by your kind intercession, I join a list of some. The misfortune is that I don't know nor can get any notice of what has been published lately in America. Our litera[ry news] papers know nothing of American books, and most of my other correspondents in America are either really dead (as Mr Muhlenberg, Dr []) or seem to be so. Dr Smith Barton I hear has been in Germany, even in Bremen, but did not go to Hamburg. In the mean[time] I wrote him twice to Philadelphia. I must renew my correspondence with all after a long interruption. I shall take the first opportunity to write to Dr Holmes, Dr Tucker. We have Ships from Richmond, Charleston but as yet none from Philad. N York nor any port of New England; but it was winter time. What I wish the most for is

1. The *second* volume of Dr *Holmes Annals*
2. The second and third Volume of *Burke's History of Virginia*
3. Almanac of Massachusetts for 1815 or 16.
4. The second Volume of the Collection of the Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia published by *Pleasants* and *Pace*, at Richmond 1808 (or 7) in quarto or large octavo.
5. The new States or a Comparison of the Wealth of the S. and N. States. Boston 1815.
6. A Virginia and North as also South Carolina Almanac of 1815 or 16 containing the lists of the officers of these States.
7. Williamson's History of North Carolina*
8. Ramsay's History of Carolina from the first settlements in 1690 to 1808. Sold at New York by Longworth, at the Shakespear Gallery. (*Not* his History of the Revolution of Carolina 1785 which I have.)
9. Pitkin's View of the Commerce of the U St. Hartford publ by Hosmer 1815*.
10. *Tench Coxe's* Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the U St Philad. 1815.

Sed ohe jam satis est! You will suppose, that I cannot wish to get all that at once.

I have a List of many other American Books, but do not know their Value or Usefulness. Should there still be continued such a Work as the American Review and Literary Journal of which I have Vol. 1. and 2. New York, 1801², that would inform me of the existence of several Books. Should there also ever be published a Continuation of *William Graydon's* Abridgment of the Laws of the U. States* whereof I have the I volume printed 1803 at Harrisburgh, Octavo³, that would be usefull to me. I am just enjoiing the pleasure to be visited by one of my former dear pupils, now settled at Philadelphia, who promises to help me to such Books as concern Kentucky etc. He procured me several exceedingly curious ones printed at Hayti, Royal Almanacs, and others. What a wonderfull event, a Kingdom of Negros organized in the manner of a French court!

[He closes his letter with remarks on European political complications. On the back of the letter Bentley has noted, "Of the Books 1. Holmes sent in May, 7. Williamson's N. Carolina. 8. Ramsay, H of S Carolina."]

TO DR. BENTLEY

JUNE 28, 1816.

DEAR SIR

I hope you have received my Letter written 25 March 1816 and sent by the Post. Being obliged to forward it by a round about way, I joined a Letter to Mr Fiske acknowledging his favor of October 27 1814, which with yours of May 1815 reached me but Febr. 1 of this year. In case this letter should have been miscarried I add another to this gentleman, which you will find in the box together with a letter to your worthy president. I have added a very scarce old book printed in 1493, which with a parcel and a copy of my Virginia you will be pleased to send occasionally to Worcester. That I am very proud of the honor to be associated to the [American] Antiquarian Society you may see by the titlepage of my book, as I made bold to pride myself as a member of that honorable

Volumes 1 and 2 only, 1801-02, were published.

³A second volume was published in 1813, but Ebeling seems never to have received it.

Society. It was with great pleasure that I read the very valuable learned and elaborate History of Printing; it came time enough to make use of it in my performance p. 445, 448. I took the liberty to send Mr Thomas some books concerning the History of the Origin of printing; I have also written to him an ample Catalogue of Books concerning the true origin in Strasburg and Maintz which now is undoubtedly verified even by judicial proofs taken from the Archives of both cities. Meerman a very learned and skilfull advocate of the dutch as Inventors of that art, was at last convinced by the many proofs brought forth against him, as appears by some of his letters, but did not like to recant publickly. I know this as certain from his Son, Baron Meerman, who died 2 years ago. He studied with me at the same time at Leipsic and was my friend. Not knowing whether Mr Thomas reads german I desired him to beg you to translate him what Eichhorn says about the Invention of these Arts.

Now let me go over to my Book. Your kindness will pardon me that I took the liberty to dedicate it to you and some of your friends and countrymen.¹ This public thanksgiving was required by my feelings of gratitude; these did not allow me to acknowledge your great many favors only in private letters. It must also been known in Germany, who is the principal promoter of my undertaking. I shall be very happy if this manner of signifying you my sentiments don't displeas you. In the titles of this dedication I made several mistakes occasioned by being too late informed of the additional honors conferred upon these Gentlemen, so I learnt but these days, that you were elected a Member of the Philadelphia Philosophical Society; as also that Dr Miller removed to Princeton. I am somewhat anxious whether my book will be approved of in America and particularly in Virginia. I have done my best to be as exact as possible, but particularly to do Justice to Virginia and its Inhabitants. You will particularly remark what I said p 297 against the slanders of Smyth², Anburey³ and

¹The names of the persons are given on p. 275.

²J. F. D. Smyth. A tour in the United States of America. 2 vol. London, 1784.

³[Thomas Anburey.] Travels through the interior parts of America. In a series of letters. By an officer. 2 vol. London, 1789.* Notes by Ebeling on the fly-leaves in regard to Anburey's sources.

their Copists. What I say in Virginia's behalf of their religiousness will displease to the American Geographer when he reads page 391, but I can not help it. External reasonable culte of the Deity is very praiseworthy, but it is not the only, nor the principal proof that we serve God in the spirit and in verity. I regret that I had not the newest Collection of Laws, and perhaps may give extracts of some that have been repealed afterwards or altered. Some errors I have corrected on the last page, as also the misplacing of the County of Cabell which I now know was a part of Kanawha. I fear it will be considered in America as a great fault that I quote such Authorities as Smyth, Parkinson⁴, Janson⁵ and other English Travellers full of prejudices dictated by their national pride against your Country. But on examining *when* I quote them it will appear that I either did it, when I had before refuted or contradicted them, or when they spoke in behalf of Virginia, or as eye witnesses on objects, where no partiality could take place.

You will excuse that I gave no better binding to my book, but as more than 10 Sheets were of very recent printing, the beating and pressing of the Bookbinder would have blotted out the letters and the box was to be brought on board. I fear even now some pages will become illegible as being printed but four days ago.

The few books I send in order to take hold of the occasion that offers itself seldom that a Ship is bound from hence to Massachusetts. I must ask your pardon that I added to them some intended for Boston I was at a loss to whom to direct what belongs to the historical Society, as also those for Worcester.

[His remarks on the books sent are omitted here since the titles of the books and Ebeling's notes on them are given in better form in his letter of January 3, 1817, p. 434.]

In my letter of March 25 I followed your desire to indicate such books, as I was in want of. Since that time I have received from Philadelphia (1) Trench *Coxe's* Statement of the Manufactures, Arts, etc 1814. 4^{to} (2) *Ramsay's* History of

⁴Richard Parkinson. A tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800. 2 vol. London. 1805.*

⁵Chas. William Janson. The stranger in America. London, 1807.*

Carolina from 1690 to 1808. (3) *Williamson's History of North Carolina*.^{*} These I beg not to send.

[The rest of this long letter is taken up with an account of European affairs and developments. At its close he repeats the titles of a few books he particularly wants and adds another,—The new states or a Comparison of the wealth of the Southern and Northern states. Boston,^o 1815.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

JULY 29, 1816

at 5 o'clock afternoon.

DEAR SIR

At a moments warning (as you will see by the inclosed Letter of our friend Mr Pitcairn) I am obliged to write this letter, to send a Box to Mr Endicott and to open it before in order to add a few Books destined for another box together with some books, which are ordered for you as also some who are in the hands of the bookbinder. I write with a wounded arm, which by a fall backwards was severely scorched by a nail, so that I lost exceedingly much blood, before a surgeon could be found, and I myself with the help of vineagre at last prevailed to stanch. But now I am on a save way of recovery after three weeks pains, thank be to the preserver of Life.

But how shall I begin, how end to thank you, Dear Sir, for all the trouble you underwent for my sake! How for all the valuable presents, the well chusen books, before all for the meritorious but exceedingly troublesome selection of Gazettes of Reserve. What little value would have my book without your very kind help! My former letter is accompanied with a Hamboro Newspaper wherein I announced my Virginia myself. Another Reviewer was to praise it beyond my merits if I had not prevented it. As much I like to deserve the approbation of connoisseurs, yet I cannot avoid to blush when praised in our public papers of this City as is customary here with all productions of our pens. In this my own announce you will find my thankfull public remembrance of your great kindness towards me.

I am very busy with enjoying the treasures you have sent me. I am about collecting another box for you consisting

more in new Books just now published and daily expected here from Leipsic. Among them is Bloch's Book you wished for. It was not to be got here but only at Berlin or Leipsic. I wrote to the former place; my Bookseller Perthes to Leipsic. The Author, a learned Jew is dead since many years, and his family has the few remaining copies of his books that were published on subscription. His large Work in folio in 12 Volumes costs 300 Thaler, with coloured plates; without, 180. But his Systema is far superior as also far cheaper I expect it every day. [torn] tardatian, as it is not sold by Booksellers The Statepapers¹ you sent me is an excellent work Unhappily by a mistake the second Volume was a duplicate and the 4th containing the State papers of 1810 is wanting. As perhaps the bookseller may have mistaken one for another I take the liberty to return the duplicate, in case it could be exchanged. But very great is your goodness that you for my sake will deprive yourself of a valuable present of a friend! I feel the whole weight of your kindness and am very thankful for this new proof of it. The more I am happy to have got lately a copy from Charleston, and so you will permit me that I return yours but I remain still highly indebted for it to you. I have only few moments left to say something about the books I send you. Vater's on the Aborigines of America will please you. He is a learned man without ostentation and without presumption. Semler's Hist. eccles. is a learned work, in a bad stile. The political Journal is our best periodical work on politiks, and shall be continued. It will replace our Newspapers, now reduced to one of some value, but not impartial. Barth's² Hexapla will shew you what that man would have been able to produce if he had been a moral man, living soberly. I have added two books of late professor S. H. Reimarus (1) His excellent Treatise on Natural Religion (2) His heretical Fragment On the scope of Jesus³, with Lessings three very witty but polemical i. e. sophistical pamphlets written against our late

¹State papers and publick documents of the United States. From the accession of Washington. 3 vol. 1798-1801. Boston, 1815.* *Same.* From the accession of Thomas Jefferson. 5 vol. 1801-1815. Boston, 1814-15.*

²Bahrdt. See the account Ebeling gives of him on p. 319.

³These works and Lessing's three pamphlets have already been described in an earlier letter, pp. 324.

Senior of the Ministry Mr Göze a learned man, but Arch Zealot, who attacked Lessing on account of having published these fragments. The other against the history of Moses and the history of the Resurrection you shall have per next.

Then I shall join some interesting works and pamphlets on the late History of Hamburg. The Commander of our Militia, disgusted begins to attack our Senate. A small pamphlet in the Box written by Senator Bartels will show you the issue of the contest.

[The letter closes with political reflections, especially with regard to the attitude of Denmark toward Hamburg.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

JAN. 3, 1817¹

[Ebeling acknowledges notice of membership in the New York Historical Society and mentions having received six months before the first two volumes of its Collections of which he had given an account in a newspaper formerly under his direction, later suppressed by Davout, but now started again by another editor. Gives a list of books sent in haste by Captain Endicott on July 29, 1816.]

My sending contained

1. *Flacii Catalogus testium veritatis* The first very scarce edition of a book which was very serviceable to Luther's Reformation.
2. *Plank's Geschichte des protestantischen Lehrbegriff.* 4 Volumes, considered as the best History extant of the origin and first forming of Lutheran Creed.
3. *Bahrds Translation of the New Testament*² 4 Volumes. The first suppressed Edition of heterodox Memory.
4. Political Journal 1814, 15, 16 one of our best political Magazines, which collects all what our Newspapers contain of truth 4 Volumes³.

¹Original in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

²Die neusten Offenbarungen Gottes in Briefen und Erzählungen. 4 vol. Riga, 1773-74.**

³Politisches Journal, nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen. Hamburg, 1814-16.**

5. *Barth's* Edition of the Hexapla. 2 Volumes His best work
6. *Semleri* Hist. Eccles. 3 Vols a very learned but not elegantly written historical Collection
7. *Reimarus's* (the Father's) natural Religion⁴ An excellent work attoning for the following Fragments of the same Author, that made so much noise when Lessing published them long time after the author's death.
8. *Reimarus* Zweck Jesu with several pieces of Lessing
9. *Vater's* Entdeckung von America
10. Two Volumes of the *Allgemeine Bibliothek* that were wanting Besides other small new pamphlets, Newspapers, as also my Memoria Reimari (Filiū Samuelis Hermanni)

The New Volume of my Geography accompanied it. I have taken the liberty to dedicate it to you. Be pleased to accept of it as a feeble part of my gratitude for your innumerable benefits, for your very great and indefatigable exertions, trouble and expences in my behalf. I feel much afflicted in not being able to shew my grateful acknowledgment more essentially. My wish was to offer that dedication only to you, and to leave that to my other benefactors, who by far are, nor can be, so kind and usefull for me as your incomparable friendship prompts you to be, but I feared not to live long enough to address my friends each in particular. I hope you will not be offended by the company wherein I placed you. My first idea to dedicate my Description of Virginia to Pres. Jefferson I gave over, as by your kind letter of Jan 24, 1816 I believed to see that it would perhaps give trouble to him to answer my address, and secondly because he does not read German I also feared that my book was not worthy enough for so great a man. I had enclosed a copy for the hist Society and the Antiquarian Society, as also some books for the worthy Mr Thomas. I hope this was not troublesome to you. What I mentioned of a parcel for Dr Morse I rather took back for to send him my book (as he *formerly* sent me his) directly. I suppose this will close my correspondence with him. His behaviour to other worthy

⁴Die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der natürlichen Religion. 3^e Auflage, 1766. Also 4^e Auflage. 1772.**

persons, as for ex. to Mrs Adams, etc makes me not desirous to ambition his correspondence.

[He goes on to speak of a new box ready to be sent by the next ship containing Bloch's Fishes "which I happily got at Berlin by the help of a great man, who was my academical friend." He hoped to send also Bloch's large work on fishes now scarce, but it had brought 80 Dollars recently at auction which was "beyond my faculties."]

The Vienna Congress was not free from some unjust proceedings but it was unavoidable in the most parts, I except the subjugating of the Republic of Genova whereof I can see no cogent reason. But as to mediatising (as it is called) our hundred and more very petty princes, it was absolutely necessary, if ever Germany should be a good organized federate body political. The united states never would prosper when a great number of counties had usurped the rights of independent states. Very happily all our ruling powers in Germany agree in making their states a representative government. contenting themselves with the rights of a sort of sovereign presidency.

[He proceeds to describe the difficulties encountered in several states and particularly in Prussia, and praises the deliberation of the Bundestag at Frankfort which has established its power as a constitutional assembly. The treatment of Jews and of Catholics is the subject of heated discussion. In this connection Ebeling writes at some length of Wette and Neander and Von Ess. He thanks Bentley again for his instructive letters which he is studying daily "especially as I just now begun an *American Magazine*⁵ which I shall sent as soon as I get the first printed Nros. Our Librarians prefer the printing in the middle of Germany as nearer to the fair."

He speaks of the preparations for celebrating very solemnly the next October the third Jubilee of the Reformation and adds interesting remarks on Stolberg, Schlegel and Werner, poets who had gone over recently to the Catholic side. The work of the Bundestag, in proceeding slowly with the drafting of a new constitution, is again defended.]

⁵He must mean his "Magazin für die Kunde und neueste Geschichte der ausseruropäischen Länder und Völker, which was just beginning. His "Amerikanisches Magazin" had appeared in four numbers in 1795-97.

TO DR. BENTLEY

[Fragment, undated, probably February 14, 1817]¹.

In my 7 volume you will perhaps have been hurt by a nonsensical period page 356 What I meant is easily to be seen, but the printer misplaced when I had corrected the proof sheets, one verse and omitted several words. Perhaps our Critics will make me atone for this fault.

I am now busy with reading once more your instructive Letters as also particularly the Gazettes of Reference you selected for me, with your explanations. What great trouble must this have cost you! I am glad that you began to note of the Newspapers themselves when they contained something particularly usefull for me. This method will save you much trouble, whereof there remains still so much, that I am at a loss how to express my gratefull feelings about you kindness. I have undertaken with friend at Lubeck who devoted his studies to the state of Asia, Africa and the South sea Isles or Polynesia, a monthly paper or Journal² That part of America I reservd to myself. As soon as it is printed I shall always send a Copy for you. By that way I hope to make use of the treasures you send me, earlier as in the following Tomes of my Geography.

Thus far had I written when your parcel of October arrived which makes me anew a Debtor to your kindness. [*Marginal note.* The Letter I got before by the post.] The honour conferred upon me requires my best thanks, so the contents of the parcel. The Mexico Declaration is very important. We are mislead continually by the spanish partial [?] Newspapers. My hope that the Spanish Americans will finally be free is still very sanguine; particularly because Spain itself returns to the Government of Monks. The 4th Volume of the Collection of the Mass. Historical Society was very welcome, so were those of the New York Society, as that Copy which I got from New York was destined to our public Library; now having it in possession myself by your kindness I can make better use of it.

But what shall I say of Dr Morse's stale performance. He

¹The first sheet or sheets of this letter are missing. It may be inferred from the sentence at the close of the letter of May 22, 1817 that the date of this letter was February 14, 1817. The postmark is "Baltimore, Jun 26."

²See p. 276.

wrote me lately asking some questions about new Geographical Works. But as he will not learn German I cannot help him. His Geogr and Gazetteers must become very incorrect and deficient. Tho' we have not many new German Geographies and Statistiks of late, all Authors and Booksellers wait for the final settlements of many Countries especially in Germany, Italy etc. Morse's Behaviour to Miss Adams is chocking³. Tho' no Law prohibited him from publishing an abridgment of New Engl. History, yet the least sentiment of Equity would have prevented him from encr[o]aching on her literary productions. It seems to me downright absurdity when M says he is not in controversy with Miss Adams, but with others whom he cannot name. What strange trick to transfer a quarrel about a New England's History with another about Unitarians. His intolerance shews the perversity of his schemes. Let him not ask my opinion on his book but I shall openly write him how I consider his *manoeuvres*.

By the enumeration of what you have sent me, I see that I have got all what your very great kindness bestowed upon me.

I shall not fail to direct my sendings for you to Mr B. Foyle [W. B. Fowle?] at Boston, when Ships from Salem are not here.

This year will be celebrated the Jubilee of the Reformation of Luther. I shall wonder how the Roman Catholiks will behave themselves at during our festivals. So much is certain that we shall abstain from polemical disputes and attacks. Many Authors are already preparing themselves to these solemnities. I have for you two Volumes of Luther's german works selected,⁴ a third volume will appear at next Easter. Our Booksellers and Bookmakers have even begun to publish Reformations-*Almanachs*. Others have [torn] best and most striking passages from Luthers Works: Dr Luther's Weisheit 3 vols 12 mo. Th[at the] Roman-Catholics begin to abandon

³It is unnecessary to revive the controversy between Miss Hannah Adams and Rev. Jedidiah Morse. Miss Adams published her "Summary history of New England" in 1799, and having reaped little money benefit from it, thought to gain something by publishing an "Abridgement" for school use. Before she was able to carry out this plan Morse and Parish issued a "Compendious history of New England designed for schools and private families" in 1804, smaller by some 125 pages than Miss Adams's book. This seemed to Miss Adams a personal injury and a long controversy followed which ran on for ten years, and was at one time submitted to referees, but without decisive result.

⁴Dr. Martin Luther's Deutsche Schriften, theils vollständig, theils in Aussügen. 2 vol. Gotha, 1816.**

or amend several of their former principles, is a change that must be agreeable to every philanthropic mind. Two Brethern *van Ess* have published a new Translation of the Bible, that had already 3 Editions. The two former had sold 80,000 Copies. The elder Brother has made a very good Collection of proofs that all the Patres ecclesiae had recommended unrestricted lecture of the Bible, also a Pamphlet in latin shewing that the concilium Tridentinum *did not* pretend that the Vulgate only should be read, nor that it was without faults. I have given in the *Beobachter*⁵ (which is now our best Gazette) of February 1817 an ample account.

Professor Eichhorn at Göttingen has begun a large Commentary on the prophets. I send you the first Tome that was published lately.

A new History of the late war, written for the Youth⁶, is yet an agreeable Lecture for elder ones and mostly exact. The portraits of the Heroes of our age are very like their originals as is assured. Those which I knew are of a perfect liking.

The address you have given me at Boston shall be made use of. I must close my long letter tho' it would be a great pleasure for me, to write very long letters to a Friend as you are.

Be pleased to recommend myself to the worthy President Thomas. Your Friends at Göttingen (where there are 4 Students⁷ out of the United States) like their Stay at that University, and all Professors agree in the praises of their conduct. When Hamburgh was not so dear I should wish that Young Americans come to us to learn the language and to frequent our School and Gymnasium.

My thankfull wishes for your prosperity shall conclude this letter and assure you of my heartfelt esteem and respect being allway

Dear Sir
Your most obliged Servant
C. D. EBELING

⁵Deutscher Beobachter oder privilegirte Hanseatische Zeitung. Hamburg, 1810-17.** The number for May 20, 1817 the last sent.

⁶Niemeyer, Christian. Heldenbuch. Ein Denkmal der Großthaten in den Befreiungskriegen von 1808-1815. Mit 33 Portraits. Leipzig, 1816.** Portraits wanting.

⁷Joseph G. Cogswell had joined his friends Everett and Ticknor at Göttingen November 1, 1816. He brought with him Augustus Thorndike, who had just graduated from Harvard College and had been sent abroad for study in Cogswell's care.

TO DR. BENTLEY

MAY 22, 1817

DEAR SIR

You will receive with this letter a Box with Books, (amongst them Bloch's Fishes, several of the ordered on Jus Canonicum, some new Bibles, Commentaries and others) which I directed according to your order to your Nephew at Boston, Mr W. B. Fowle. The Freight has been paid here.

I have begun a long letter to you in answer to so many of your highly wellcome instructive and kind letters. It gives me pain, that I am not able to return your civilities by so many literary and political news as I wish; but shall do my best to correct my fault in future.

I hope you have received the Box which I sent you by the *Janus, Capt Endicott, July 29, 1816* containing Copies of the 7 Volume of my *America* which I took the liberty to dedicate to you and to several Friends, and which you will kindly have approved of as a feeble testimony of my heartfelt gratitude. I had enclosed a parcel for President Thomas and a scarce old *Chronicon*¹ for the Antiquarian Society, with other works of Semler, Plank, Barth, Vater, Reimarus, several volumes of *Algem. deutsche Bibliothek* etc. for your use.

The list of what I send now, will be found in the letter going by the post directly to Salem. [May 24, 1817].

I should have written to you oftener had I not been so very weak by more than a half years sickly state, as rheumatical complaints, especially in the knees, made me almost incapable to walk out of the room; and insomnies vexed me very much. We had an exceedingly wett sommer, autumn and winter which I could not resist. Now by the help of a serene spring I am recovering. Happily my mind is unhurt, and I was able to attend to my lessons etc without interruption. I shall be glad to hear of your enjoying the best health, I can wish you. Yet I hope you received my letter of 2 August 1816 via New York and of February 14 1817 directly by the post.

¹This refers to a copy of the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493, still possessed by the American Antiquarian Society, in the record of Ebeling's donation.

I am summoned to send away the box and refer to my other letter, being with very sincere respect and gratitude

Dear Sir

Entirely Your most obedt Servant

C. D. EBELING

TO DR. BENTLEY

MAY 24, 1817¹.

[The writer encloses the bill of lading of a box of books directed to Bentley's nephew, Mr Fowle, of Boston, promises another soon, and refers to that sent in July 1816 by the Janus, Capt. Endicott, a box made ready at only a few hours notice.

"Inclosed there was a parcel for President Thomas, with a Palaeotypon for the same, in Folio." He gives a list of 13 titles sent to Bentley in the same box, repeating substantially the list given in his letter of January 3, 1817 and adding Kunhardt's Religion und Moral and Kotzebue's Flugblätter "concerning our then reigning politicks."

He adds the principal contents of the box just sent by the Wanderer, Capt. Newcomb. Many of the titles have been mentioned before. Among the new ones are the following:]

4. *Vater's Deutsche Mundarten*
5. *Hamberger's Nachrichten von Schriftstellern* as far as 1500**. 2 vols. a very usefull accurate work, which should be continued.
6. *Heldenbuch*** with good portraits of the principal Generals living.
7. *Wertheimer Bibel* i. e. Pentateuchus 4°. A Version forbidden under high penalty by the German Diet at Ratisbonn, but now only somewhat scarce. The Author, *Schmidt*, translated it at Hamburg. He was the first who deviated from the trodden path of Orthodoxy.
9. *Luther's Bible* with Pastor Funke's at Altona annotations. Tho' this edition was approved by the supreme ecclesiastical Board and the Government, it excited several severe pamphlets against the notes. I was accused of Socinianism etc. The noise subsided soon.

¹Original in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

10. *Adelung's* (the Lexicographers) *Gesch. der Jesuiten* 2 vols**. The Author was prevailed on by a pension, and nominated public Librarian at Dresden under restriction *not* to continue his book. The Jesuits consi[de]red it as too true.
11. *Rambach's* Anthologie of our old Church service Songs and Psalms.** A work written with great exactitude, and very complete.
21. *Der deutsche Beobachter*.** Formerly a very good Newspaper; now much declining and containing nothing but Controversies about the new planning and organizing the German general and particular Constitutions
22. *Heeren vom deutschen Bund*. One of the best amongst many 100 pamphlets of the same tendency.
23. *v. Ess* 2 pamphlets in Defence of Bible Societies and the necessary lecture of the Bible by Roman Catholics. The two brethren are nobly engaged to urge the Study of the Bible amongst the common people of their creed.

I have said nothing about my health which was very much impaired last autumn and winter by the great wetness of the air. I now recover slowly, but suffer still by rheumatical attacks and insomnies. A warm summer I hope shall restore me intirely.

TO PROFESSOR JOSEPH MCKEAN

Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society

HAMBURG, JUNE 11, 1817¹.

C. AUG. 4².

REVEREND SIR

You will be pleased to allow me to repeat what I had the honour to write you on the latter days of last year, viz. the save deliverance of the parcel with the 6 volumes of the

¹The original letter, which had been preserved with other papers of Professor McKean in the possession of the Folsom family, has lately been given to the Harvard Library. It was printed in part in the "Columbian Centinel," September 27, 1817. Ebeling died June 20, 1817.

²This line, in a different hand, probably indicates the date of reception in Cambridge. The letter bears the postmark "Baltimore, Md. July 29."

Collection of the Historical Society, which Mr. Cogshell [Cogswell] sent me from Amsterdam and came to hand 17 November 1816. My most sincere thanksgiving was expressed in my last letter. I took the liberty to send for the Society July 29 under cover of Rev. Wm. Bentley, Salem, a copy of my 7 volume of America together with Vater's Mithridates, Pernetty's Dissertation sur l'Amérique and some other trifles. This went by Capt. Endicott. In another Box sent by Capt. Newcomb May 23 of this year Herrera's Aviso del Peru said to be a great scarcity in Spain; a German description of America, 2 vols. 4° exceedingly imperfect even when it appeared, some few books concerning Greenland etc. which I hope will reach you soon.

I had allready the honour to signify to you how great a pleasure it was to me to correspond with you, being deprived of my literary intercourse with your worthy excellent and learned Dr. Eliot, whose premature death I cannot but lament sincerely. I shall do my best, to execute your ordres and to be serviceable here as far ever my old age, my connections and my health allow me. This last was very much threatened by many severe attacks of asthmatical complaints occasioned by the exceedingly moist autumn of which I wrote you, but which was followed by a still more humid winter and spring; both not admitting the least exercise. But now I am recovering tho' slowly; but am still vexed with rheumatical [illegible] and insomnies. But: "nihil ab omni parte beatum," Notwithstanding this I am heartly thankfull to divine providence for the health and vigour of mind I enjoy. My lessons in our College never are interrupted. By the first opportunity I shall communicate with you some Catalogues of our Gymnasium, whereby you will see, what sciences are its particular destination.

Since my last I have had the very great pleasure of being made acquainted personally with three very worthy Gentleman of Boston, viz. Professor Everet, Mr. Cogshall and Mr. Thorndike who visited me on their excursion made for our place.³

³Everett, Cogswell and Thorndike visited Hamburg on a walking trip from Göttingen May 25-29, where Cogswell reports that they saw a good deal of Ebeling and his American library. "On the whole the visit was rather a pleasant one." See Joseph G. Cogswell's *Life as sketched in his letters*, Cambridge, 1874, p. 61. Doubtless it was this visit which led to the purchase of Ebeling's library for Harvard College a few months later. It is

They arrived here last month. Truly these amiable, well instructed and learned men, do great honour to your country. I hope they will be the means of a learned intercourse between the worthies of the United States and Germany. Both countries' literature will profit thereby. They speak and write German to perfection, they are judiciously fond of the good part of our, rather too fruitfull literature, with which they are exceedingly well acquainted. May kind heaven conduct them save to their Country!

I am now studying the very instructive Collection of your Society, and I profit much thereby. I have begun an American Magazine, which is now printing, and shall be sent as soon as it is published. The many valuable productions now appearing in America will furnish me ample materials. I shall not fail to do my possible, to fullfill your desires for old Msts and Paleotypes, as also of medals. All these, as I have told you in my last very seldom occur in lower Saxony; but now and then one or the other of Msts. and Books of ancient date offer themselves. As for coins I despair, for those reasons I alledged before. There was to be an auction at Rostock which contained a large excellent library in all the oriental languages, with many hebrew and rabinic Msts, as also a most considerable collection ancient coins all collected during half a century by our greatest orientalist Dr. Tychsen last year deceased at the University of Rostock. The catalogue thereof made a large volume in 8^{vo} But my hopes are frustrated. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg purchased the whole collection for 1000 Louis d'ors in order to enrich therewith his University. But even he is obliged to cede all to the Emperor of Russia, who offered 1200 Louis d'ors. It is a pity that Germany shall lose such a treasure.

interesting to note that Tieknor, a Dartmouth graduate of 1807, but honored with a Harvard Master's degree in 1814, had just been appointed by Harvard Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures (1817-1835); that Everett, of the Harvard class of 1811, had already received his appointment as Professor of Greek Literature at Harvard (1816-1826) and was to become, later, President of the University (1846-1849); and that Cogswell, of the class of 1806, having already been a Tutor at Harvard for one year, 1814-15, returned to become Professor of Mineralogy and Geology and Librarian of the University from 1821 to 1823. Augustus Thorndike had graduated at Harvard in 1816. His father, Israel Thorndike, a public-spirited Boston merchant, was presently to purchase Ebeling's whole American library and present it to the College.

There is here at sale since long time the greatest rabbinical Library that ever existed, collected by a learned Rabbi Oppenheimer an intimate friend of our late John Chr Wolf, the author of the *Bibliotheca hebraica* in 4 volumes. This Library is packed up in 28 large chests. The present possessors are ignorant Jews. They demand 5000 Dollars or 25000 marcs of our money, but I am sure they will sell it for $\frac{1}{3}$ or perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ of that Price. I should wish to purchase it for our public Library, but we have Wolf's very large Collection with many hebrew and arabic Msts. and would be encumbered with to many duplicates.⁴

The new books you mention I am possessed of altogether as also of Mr. Thomas's History of printing, the Collection of State papers during Washington's and Adam's Presidency. Only one volume of the first collection of your Society I have not been able to procure viz. volume the IXth. You will greatly oblige me if you can find occasion to purchase it for me. I am told it is out of print.

I just now got a vellum Mst. for you, not of great internal value, but I shall send it begging to accept of it as an indifferent testimony of my gratitude. I shall be attentive if I can get more valuable ones, and have given orders to several learned friends to do the same.

The only old book printed on velum which was exposed for sale here was lately in an auction of Altona. It was the first edition of Emperor Maximilian's I. poem the *Theuerdank* printed on vellum in a superb manner. But it was sold for 200 marcs tho' I offered 180 for our public Library. It was sent to Leipsic, which is the seat of precious typographical antiquities.

It is very remarkable that the number of authors and of their productions has not been more impaired and lessened by the late calamities of the french Usurpation. The last Catalogue of the Leipsic Bookseller fair is a large volume in octavo. The number of new productions (academical dissertations and many pamphlets are *not* inserted.) as enumerated on 290 pages may amount to at least 2900 or 3000 books, continuations (for voluminous works are not published at once, but by parts and volumes successively, which may be commodious for the authors

⁴The collection was afterward acquired by the University of Oxford.

and booksellers, but is detrimental for literature, many valuable works remaining incomplete). Our Books begin to be very dear, even those indifferently printed on a sort of white blotting paper. Our best modern books are those that belong to editions of classical authors, to exegetical and critical annotations on different books of the bible, to natural history, to civil history, to the german law and to physic, Great many of travels, medical observations, biographies are translations, particularly of english new books. Small Works, Journals and periodical papers, larger pamphlets are employd to disputes about the new government. Most of them of little value and ephemeral duration. A shame of our literature is the great number of Novels and Romances, as also plays of very little value. They are absorbed by the many Reading Societies (*Lesegesellschaften*) established in every large and little town, borough etc. for lecture is now become essential occupation of the female sex every where. Happily the rage of novels begins to abate, and historical works, Biographies of eminent men are often preferred. The novel-writers are exhausted and even the few better ones must produce stale performances. Another favorite lecture is that of Almanacks, as they are called, containing poetry, small tales, historical anecdotes, biographies, commonly adorned with fine prints, portraits, but also very dear. English and French Books, especially Travels and Voyages are introduced in great quantities and form the lecture of the higher ranks or richer people who will not wait for translations.

Such is the present state of our rather too fruitfull literature. Our best flourishing and well provided for Universities are Göttingen, Leipsic, Heidelberg, Jena, Halle, Berlin. Others are good but lingering not so much frequented as the others. To these belong Kiel, Rostock, Greifswald, Erlang[en], Tubing[en], Breslau, Marpurg and Giessen. The best roman-catholics Universities are Vienna, Freyberg, Landshut, Würzburg, where there are also protestant professors (but not of Theology), that of Bonn on the Rhine is to be renewed. The principal learned Societies protected by Kings and princes are those at Berlin, München, Göttingen. They publish their valuable Transactions.

But I fear to abuse of your patience and shall finish this long letter recommending myself to your kind remembrance being allways, with very great esteem.

Reverend Sir

Your most obedt humble Servant

C. D. EBELING Professor at
the College or Gymnasium of Hamburg

This last letter in our series is dated June 11, 1817. On June 20 our kindly, sagacious, generous-hearted, and active-minded Librarian died,¹ in his 76th year, and leaving still unfinished the History and Description of America to which he had devoted his best powers for over forty years. Seven volumes of the work he had completed in spite of the delays and difficulties due to the disturbed conditions of Europe.

It was a fortunate circumstance that Everett, Cogswell and Thorndike, the young Americans then studying in Göttingen, had visited Hamburg only a month before, had become personally acquainted with Ebeling, and must have seen something of his remarkable collection of books and maps relating to America. Everett, already appointed a professor in Harvard University and at this time preparing himself to take up his work there, had been specially commissioned by the Corporation to procure books for the College Library. Cogswell had been a Tutor at Harvard the previous year and was now studying and travelling in Europe, having under his care Augustus Thorndike, the son of a wealthy and public-spirited Boston merchant, Israel Thorndike. Ebeling's work and the character of his library were well known to his American correspondents, many of whom were or had been

¹Bentley notes in his Diary, September 16, 1817:

"The death of my friend and old Correspondent C. D. Ebeling is announced in England. His last letter is dated 24 May. The date of the Eng. paper 21 June [evidently a mistake]. In that term he must have died. About 50 of his Letters during my Correspondence remain to explain the system, purpose, and benefits proposed in it. He has been a member of our Hist. Society and I nominated him to the Antiquarian and to the N. Y. Hist. Society. I found him an affectionate, invariable and provident friend. I never saw him."

in close touch with the College. It is easy, therefore, to understand how the idea of purchasing Ebeling's collection for the Harvard Library promptly took shape. Inquiries were soon made through Cogswell, who learned from Mr. Richard Parish in Hamburg (mentioned by Cogswell as one of the Americans he had met there) in a letter dated January 23, 1818, that the American part of Ebeling's library contained from 3,000 to 3,500 volumes, besides manuscripts, charts, etc. A letter from Cogswell to Israel Thorndike dated Milan, April 4, 1818, reported that the purchase had been made by Professor Everett on Mr. Thorndike's account at an expense, including charges, of about \$6,500. On June 17, 1818 Mr. Thorndike wrote the following letter to President Kirkland:—

REV.^d DOCTOR KIRKLAND
Dear Sir

Having been informed some time since, that the late Professor Ebeling of Hamburg had left a very extensive and valuable library containing many volumes, maps and charts peculiarly adapted to be useful in the United States, I determined upon purchasing it, provided it could be obtained at a fair price, considering its intrinsic worth, and present it to the University at Cambridge as a mark of the great esteem I feel for those who compose the Government of that Seminary and of veneration for its great Antiquity and Usefulness. You will perceive by the enclosed letters and copies that this object has been effected, and that Orders have been given for shipment to the United States for Account of the University.

I have to request that your Corporation will be pleased to accept this library, with my best wishes that it may be found conducive to the great end we all have in view, the extension of knowledge in our Country.

I wish, however, to reserve for my own use any duplicate or triplicate copies of works etc., which it will not be of any decided advantage to the College to possess.²

I am Dear Sir with respect
and esteem
Your obed Servant
Israel Thorndike

²The letters "enclosed," viz. the two from Parish and Cogswell mentioned above, and another from Thorndike "containing orders for the shipment of the collection" ought to be in the College archives but have not been found.

The Corporation accepted the gift and passed the following vote which was entered in the records (College Book X. p. 423):

That the Corporation most gratefully accept this donation to the University. They beg leave to express to the Donor their high gratification in this act of munificence which entitles him to the respect and gratitude of present and future times; which is the means of keeping together a rich mass of materials for illustrating the History, Circumstances and Resources of our Country; which indicates a becoming participation in the views and sense of the services of a distinguished Professor and excellent man abroad, who employed the greatest part of a long life in researches and labors relating to America, and which makes a peculiarly valuable and interesting addition to the Apparatus possessed by the University for cultivating the recording sciences.

The Corporation take satisfaction in this generous gift, not only on account of its intrinsic worth, but also, as it presents another instance in which good learning receives that individual patronage, from which, in the present state of our Society, the endowments of literature must principally flow; and an example of favour to the interests of lettered knowledge which they trust will contribute to preserve and promote among the reflecting and patriotic blessed with Opulence, a worthy emulation in assisting the intellectual advancement of our State and Nation, and augmenting the usefulness and renown of our ancient and cherished University. Voted: That the President, Hon. J. Davis and Hon. J. Phillips be a Committee to communicate to Mr. Thorndike these Proceedings of the Corporation; and to take such measures as they may think expedient for the reception of the Books etc. above mentioned, on their arrival in this Country.

Ebeling speaks several times in his letters (April 29, 1796, June 3, 1797, February 13, 1798, and perhaps at other times) of preparing an account of his library or a list of it to be sent to Dr. Belknap, but no such list or account seems to be extant. In 1809, he undertook to compile a fuller catalogue of the American portion of his collection, and this catalogue came to the Harvard Library with his books. It is a folio volume of over 275 finely written pages, and is entitled "*Bibliotheca Americana quinquaginta annorum indefessa opera summo studio maximoque impendio*

collecta a Chr. Dan. Ebeling." He goes on to say on this titlepage (I translate freely) that "this index of my library full of rare books printed for the most part in America and its islands, the equal of which you would scarcely find either in Europe or in America itself, I began to compile in January 1809, and finished in May 1810." The Harvard Library has also a copy of this MS catalogue made in 1821 for the use of Mr. Cogswell who was then just beginning his brief service as Librarian.

The nucleus of Ebeling's collection of maps, he obtained from Georg Friedrich Brandes,³ whose name stands on the separate, carefully classified, manuscript map catalogue, a folio volume of over four hundred pages. The title of this volume is as follows: "Catalogus mapparum geographicarum separatim collectarum a G. F. Brandes. Collectionem continuavit, supplevit, auxit C. D. Ebeling Professor Hamburg." There is also the beginning of a third catalogue of atlases and the maps contained in them, with a supplement for the maps obtained for the increase of the Brandes collection, begun in the year 1794, but evidently never completed nor long continued. It covers but two pages at the beginning of a large folio volume and twenty-one pages at the end, the latter pages containing certain titles arranged in chronological order, the order, I judge, in which Ebeling acquired them.

The Library has, in addition, a list of the books and maps made when they were packed in twenty-three chests for shipment to America, and a second copy used as an invoice.

For the portrait reproduced with these letters, I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Dr. G. Wahl, lib-

³Brandes, 1709-1791, distinguished as a diplomat in several German courts, and Secretary of the Privy Council of Hanover, but still better known as an art collector and critic, and as a patron of the University of Göttingen. His library of 30,000 volumes was bought by the Duke of Oldenburg. This, and his collection of engravings containing 42,000 items (Catalogue Raisonné in two volumes) seem to have overshadowed his truly valuable collection of maps.

rarian of the Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek of Hamburg. The original is an oil painting by P. Suhr, which hangs in the Hamburg Library. As a result of Dr. Wahl's inquiries, the Harvard Library has also obtained a copy of an excellent lithograph of Ebeling by Bendixen which is similar to the oil portrait. A woodcut in the "Allgemeine geog. Ephemeriden," May, 1800, p. 395, is reproduced in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. I, p. iii.

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PART 2

PROCEEDINGS

of the *Academy of Music Society*

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1911





